ECONOMIC HERITAGE OF THE TAMILS

Editor
Annie Thomas



உலகத் தமிழாராய்ச்சி நிறுவனம்
INTERNATIONAL INSTITUTE OF TAMIL STUDIES

ECONOMIC HERITAGE OF THE TAMILS

(Proceedings of the National Seminar on the Economic Heritage of the Tamils)

27-01-1993 to 29-01-1993

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இரண்டாவது முதன்மைச் சாலை, மையத் தொழில்நுட்பப் பயிலக வளாகம், தரமணி, சென்னை - 600 113

BIBLIOGRAPHICAL DATA

Title of the Book	:	**ECONOMIC HERITAGE OF THE TAMILS**
Editor	:	Dr. Annie Thomas Professor International Institute of Tamil Studies Chennai - 600 113.
Publisher & ©	:	International Institute of Tamil Studies II Main Road, C.I.T. Campus Chennai - 600 113. Ph: 044 - 22542992
Publication No.	:	570
Language	:	English & Tamil
Edition	:	First
Year of Publication	:	2007
Paper Used	:	18.6 TNPL Maplitho
Size of the Book	:	1/8 Demy
Printing type Used	:	10 points
No. of Pages	:	x + 294
No. of Copies	:	500
Price	:	Rs.115/- (Rupees One Hundred and Fifteen only)
Printing	:	A.V. Prints No.332, T.T.K. Road Royapettah, Chennai - 600 014
Subject	:	Economics

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FOREWORD

The importance of Economy was felt even in the primitive society.

A mighty man with considerable wealth became the leader of an ethnic group. The head of many such groups has often emerged as the king.

The early Tamils had referred to this economy in the name **poruḷ**, otherwise called "the wealth".

Thirukkuṟaḷ, an earliest Tamil ethical literature deals with the importance of **poruḷ** in more than half of its couplets, in a similar way to the other ancient Tamil classical grammars and literatures.

Tamil monarchies, viz. Chera, Chola and Pandiya, fight for the progress of their wealth within themselves or rarely with their neighbours by sea or land.

They ran armies containing elephants, chariots, horses and infantrymen for such fights in order to protect their land and the people who live within their territories.

Such instances are registered in the verses of the early Tamil classics.

Agriculture became the main source of income when the ancient Tamils gave up their frequent wars.

Due to the change of scene in the political atmosphere, poverty was slowly eradicated and the people had spent their time in developing art and religion.

Recently, the International Institute of Tamil Studies, with the aim to study the Heritage of the Tamils down from the period of

ancient monarchies, conducted ten National Seminars over a period of ten years.

The proceedings of these seminars were printed and published for the benefit of researchers.

The present publication, a collection of 30 papers written in English and one in Tamil, is a yield of the eleventh conference on the Heritage series.

I hope the following proceedings will be a reference guide to the researchers in this field.

The authors of these papers deserve praise for bringing out the facts and readable texts to the people, for generations to come.

I sincerely thank our **Hon'ble Chief Minister DR. KALAIGNAR,** who is also the Chairman of the International Institute of Tamil Studies, for his able guidance on Tamil Studies and his kindness towards the Tamil Scholars.

Hon'ble Finance Minister Professor K. Anbazhagan, dedicates himself for the Tamils and the Tamil language, deserves our sincere thanks.

I also thank to Thiru. **Dr. K. Rajamanickam** I.A.S.(Retd.), Secretary to Hon'ble Chief Minister of Tamil Nadu for the constant encouragement of Tamil Studies.

For his support in conducting Tamil Studies in the International Institute of Tamil Studies, my sincere thanks go to **Thiru D. Rajendran** I.A.S., Secretary to Government, Tamil Development, Endowments and Information department.

I appreciate Dr. Annie Thomas, the editor of this publication and all staff members for their untiring work in arranging the current seminars.

DIRECTOR

A NOTE

The International Institute of Tamil Studies with the collective participation of experts in different spheres held National and International Seminars from time to time.

National seminars on 'The Heritage of the Tamils' were being held from 1977. Till 1986 nine such seminars were conducted on the following topics: 'Culture', 'Literature', 'Language and Grammar', 'Art and Architecture', 'Temple Arts', 'Philosophy, 'History', 'Siddha Medicine' and 'Education and Vocation'. The tenth one of this series on 'The Social Heritage of the Tamils' was held in 1991. The proceedings were brought out in separate volumes.

The present volume is the proceedings of the National Seminar on the Economic Heritage of the Tamils conducted from 27th January 1993. There are 31 articles covering various topics.

I am thankful to Dr. Naganathan, the then Professor and Head of the Department of Economics, Madras University and Dr. Pon. Kothandaraman, the then Professor and Head of the Department of Tamil Literature, Madras University for their expert guidance in the selection of topics and contributors.

As editor, I am thankful to the authorities of the International Institute of Tamil Studies, the Publication committee and especially the Director Dr. M. Rajendran for bringing out this volume in print now.

Annie Thomas

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CONTENTS

TERMS AND CONCEPTS OF ECONOMICS IN TOLKĀPPIYAM

S. V. Subramanian

The word Economics is derived form the Greek word 'oikonomica', meaning 'house hold'.[1]

The study of economics as a science was developed only in the middle of the 18th century by Adam Smith (1723 - 1790).[2]

Adam Smith's "Science of Wealth" theory has been elaborated by Marshall as "Economics is the study of mankind in the ordinary business life" i.e., - welfare of the people is the basic theory of economics. Lionel Robbins of London School of Economics clarifies "Economics is a science which studies human behaviour as relationship between ends and scarce means which have alternative uses."[3]

Though wealth is important, if it is not utilised for the people in the proper manner, it is not worthy. Utilisation is more important than accumulation or possession.

Tolkāppiyam is the earliest available grammatical work in Tamil. It speaks about the language and literary concepts of the early Tamils, who lived in the B.C.s, some few thousand years ago.

Tolkāppiyam, has three parts. First two parts eḻuttu and col deal with the language and the third part 'poruḷ' deals with the literary concepts and the life of the people.

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1. Economic Anaysis, M.S. Arockiasamy, 1978, p. 1.
2. Kalaikkaḷañciyam, Vol. 7, p. 567.
3. Economic Analysis, p. 10.

Generally in any language and literature, the writings reflect the social life of the people. The ancient languages like Greek, Latin, Sanskrit and Tamil, speak about the people of that linguistic community. The word 'uṭaimai' in Tamil means possession; iṉmai - nothing or non-possession; vaṇmai - generosity - benevolance, and vaṉmai valour; like wise many terms are available to denote the concept of the life of the people.

The word economics is equated with 'poruḷātāram' or 'poruḷiyal' in Tamil. 'Poruḷ' is used in many meanings in Tamil such as matter, subject matter, any material, wealth, etc., The word poruḷ is having more than 198 occurrences in Tol. in various meanings.

Wealth is denoted by words such as 'poruḷ' (1038)[4] vaḷam or vaḷaṉ (1037), celvam (1013, 1367), tiru (1219) etc.,

Tamils concept of life has three phases, viz, iṉpamum poruḷum aṟaṉum (1038) (pleasure, wealth, virtue). Out of these three, pleasure and virtue are placed at the two sides while poruḷ, wealth, is centered in position, being the possession. Wealth is the basic thing for life, not only for the Tamils, but also for all mankind in the universe.

Tamils considered marriage as 'peṟaṟkarum perum poruḷ' (1096) that is 'great wealth in life' and houshold life as 'cīruṭaipperum poruḷ' (1096), i.e., 'rare wealth'.

The hero leaves his love or wife on three or four occasions. For higher studies, for war, for embassy and somethies to acquire wealth. It is called as 'poruḷ vayiṟ pirivu' (979) ie 'separation to acquire wealth'. This may happen before marriage, as well as after marriage. It may be for one year (1136). Tamils never take their wives in a sea voyage - 'muṉṉīr vaḻakkam makaṭū vōṭu illai' (1980). As seafaring was there, sea trade might have flourished. Even today the people of Chettinadu, leave their wives and go abroad (Malaysia, Singapore and other places) to acquire welath.

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4. The numerals denote the Sutra number of Tolkāppiyam, Edition : Tol-mulam-Kalakam, 1967.

Tamils, as per Tolkāppiyam divided the land into five regions, as Kuriñci, Mullai, Marutam, Neytal and Pālai. Kuriñci, the hilly tract was the mountains and their surroundings. Mullai the forest and its surroundings. Marutam, the agricultural tract, included the fields and their surroundings. Neytal, the maritime tract covered the sea and the sea shore surroundings. Pālai was a kind of desert tract.

In these five regions, the natural and emotional matter has been divided into three as mutal poruḷ, karupporuḷ and uripporuḷ; mutal poruḷ deals with land and time; it is universal. Space and time is essential and important to do anything in this universe. Karupporuḷ deals with God, flora and fauna, food, activities of the people, the drum and the lyre which are available in the region; and urip poruḷ the personal emotions in the life of the people. The people of the land earned their livelyhood by work activies and it is denoted by Tolkāppiyam as 'ceyti'. Toḻil, vinai, ceyti are equal terms to denote work.

Economic analysis mainly falls into five divisions as production, consumption, exchange, distribution and public finance. These are all interrelated and inter dependent. Economics and society - the social life of the people are very closely interrelated.

In all the five regions mentioned, the people produced the food materials necessary for their consumption. In the Kuriñci region the people collected honey from bee hives and dug esculent and bulbous roots. They cultivated millet and corn and hunted animals and birds. In the Mullai region cattle rearing was main work; the products of milk was food; and they cultivated the necessary food materials for them, such as millet, etc., In Marutam cultivation of paddy was the main way of life and source of income. In Neytal by exchanging the produce of the region viz, fish and salt they got the food material from the other regions. In Palai, high way robbery was done by the robbers of that region as, nothing was produced there. In general the various strata of people of all the first four region were self-sufficient for their livelyhood. Their economic conditions were satisfying as found in Tolkāppiyam.

Gold (356) was available. Ornaments were made. In general the materials were of two types. They were natural materials 'iyar̲kaipporuḷ' (502), such as fruits, honey, gold, coconut, trees, plants, other edibles etc., And produced materials 'ceyar̲kaipporuḷ' (503) such as ornaments, agricultural produce (paddy), sword, bow and arrow, oils,utencils, etc.,

For producing any material eight essential factors are necessary.

a. vin̲ai - doing action;

b. ceyvatu - doer (agent);

c. ceyappaṭu poruḷ - the material which has to be made;

d. nilam - the place to do it;

e. kālam - the time taken for completing that action;

f. karuvi - the machinery / instruments for the production;

g. in̲n̲atar̲ku - for what purpose - to whom (consumer);

h. itupayan̲ - the utility or the material

This concept regarding production is clearly said in the following Sutra.

vin̲aiyē ceyvatu ceyappaṭu poruḷē
nilan̲ē kālam karuvi en̲r̲ā
in̲n̲atar̲ku itu payan̲ āka en̲n̲um
an̲n̲a marapin̲ iraṇṭoṭu tokaii
āyeṭṭen̲pa toḻil mutal nilaiyē (596)

Out of these eight the first six speak about production and the remaining two deal with consumption.

The produced materials were exchanged. Trade (business) was there as known from the statement 'Vaicikan̲ per̲umē vāṇika vāḻkkai' (1578) ie., the trader has a life of trading. Agricultural product, war materials such as sword, bow and arrow, charriot, etc., were exchanged. But there is no reference about the mode of exchange.

Rich and the poor lived together. Servants were known as aṭiyōr, viṉaivalar (969) iḷaiyōr (1116) and even slaves (aṭimai (540) were mentioned; but there is no reference about their wages, etc.

With the available natural resources in land and water, by fishing, honey collectiong, fruit picking, etc., the people lived happily, beçause their needs were limited. Necessities were maintained; luxuries, fashion and extravagant expenses were not known.

The kings and chieftains, maintained the army, horse and charriot force etc; for that public finance might have been there, but from which source they got the revenue is not avilable in Tolkāppiyam.

The gifts were given to the bards and dancers (viṟali, pāṇar, kūttar, porunar, etc.,) by the rich, chieftains and kings; it was expounded as a literary theme in āṟṟuppaṭai (945, 1037). The route to go to the benevolent hero, what kinds of gifts he has given to those people who have been to see him are all explained vividly in 'āṟṟuppaṭai'.

The term mēlōr, kīḻōr (1090) uyarntōr (930), oppōṉ (929) iḻintōṉ (928) (the high, the low, the equal) may denote the economic status of the people.

Measure of weight and volume used in Trade were noted. Kalam, tūṇi, patakku, uri, nāḻi, uḻakku, kā, paṉai, mā are some measures referred.

Numerals are called as eṇṇuppeyar, 'eṇṇukkuṟippeyar' (658). A knowledge in members lead to economic clarity and statistical accurateness. The economic periods have been classified as primitive, ancient, medieval and modern. Tolkāppiyam reveals that it belongs to primitive and ancient economic period.

Regarding any science we are generally taking the frame from the western world and trying to fit it into our available material. Will it be proper always? Our traditional education is different from western education. Our scholars also thought about wealth, utility and the welfare of the people and the country. This also may be taken into account for future studies.

Anyway free economic enterprise will be better for any country (ie) Freedom of movement, freedom of occupation, freedom of consumption and freedom of production and trade as in the case of Singapore.

Words related to Economics in Tolkāppiyam

aṭimai - slave - 540
aṇi - ornament - 1208
aḷakkai - measuring - 1600
aḷavu - measure - 168
aṟivu - knowledge - 1037
ākkam - development - 672
āyar - cowhered - 967
āṟṟuppaṭai - one who has been rewarded with gifts directs another to the presence of the Chief - 945
iyakkam - movement - 46, 1301
iḻai - ornament - 1097, 1118
iṉmai - nothing - not having anything - 130, 562
uṭai - dress - 1208
uṭaimai - possession - 562, 1140, 1206
uṇavu - food - 308, 1579
uyarntōṉ - great, exalted man - 930
oppōṉ - equal - 927
iḻintōṉ - lower strata man - 928
uḻavu - ploughing - 1581
ūrti - cart, charriot, transport - 1092
eṇṇukkuṟippeyar - statistics - 658
ērōr - ploughers - 1022
pakaṭu - bullock - 1022
eḷimai - simplicity - 1220
kaṭappāṭu - established custom - 37
kaṭamai - obligation- 1568
kalvi -education -1134
kā - weighing measure - 169
kiḻamai - right, claim - 564

mēlōr - higher level people - 1090
kīlōr - lower level people - 1090
kuḻu - society - 650
karuvi - instrument - 564
koṭai -gift - 583
koḷkai -doctrine - 1020
cūtar - bards whose duty was to praise kings standing in their presence - 1037
ceyaṟkaipporuḷ - manufactured article - 503
iyaṟkaipporuḷ - natural things - 502
celavu -going - 511
varavu - coming - 511
tarutal - gift - 511
ceḻumai - fertility - 835
valaṉ - productiveness - 835
tāḷaṉ - perseverence - 987
tērōr - charriot warriors - 1022
tokuttal -accumulate - 556
piṟittal - to seperate- 556
toḻil - work, profession - 210
tōl - leather buckler, shield - 1013
naṉmai - goodness, utility - 562
tiṉmai - misfortune - 562
niṟaippeyar - weight measure - 900
nel - paddy - 371
neṟimai - rule - 981
paci - hunger - 1216
payam/ṉ-utility - 807, 596
palkum - increase - 1357
pāṇar - bards - 1096
pātīṭu - sharing -1004
peruñcōṟṟu nilai - giving feast to soldiers - 1009
pukaḻ - fame - 796
putumai - newness - 562

perumitam - pride - 1197
poṉ - gold- 356
poruḷ - things - 1038
marapu - tradition - 417
mikaṟkai - doubling - 157
vāḻkkai - life - 1172
vāṇikam - trade, business - 1578
viṉai - deed - 564
vēṭkai - desire, want - 288
vaicikaṉ - merchant - 1578



THE ECONOMY OF THE ANCIENT TAMILS

N. Subramanian

The civilization of the ancient Tamils, interpreted as their cultural attainments was in an advanced stage; but their politics was centred on despotism and their economy was primitive. This paper attempts to elaborate the latter statement.

The Kaviri and a number of other rivers, all flowing west to east, formed the basis of the dominantly agricultural economy of the land; though the rivers, not being perennial, depended on the monsoon rains for their flow. The peasant who could not predict the monsoons had often to face famines caused by the failure of the winds and continued by the absence of famine eradication devices. We hear of famines in the Sangam age[1] and the Pallava - Pandya period.[2] which continued for many years. The poverty and the suffering caused during these intervals of economic distress would have affected the economy of normal times, too. In the Sangam Age we hear of peasants whose farming depended on just one ploughshare;[3] agricultural indebtedness, though occasionally relieved by royal orders to wipe it off,[4] was found side by side with a few prosperous pockets of farmland where one small piece of land yielded a large quantity of foodgrain.[5] It seems that the nature of the agricultural economy was determined not by the efforts of the farmer but by the geography of the land. Still agriculture was the mainstay of the economy; for that economy was geared to providing the necessaries of life and not the luxuries of fashion; i.e., sustaining

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1. **Vide** the commentary on the **Iṟaiyaṉār Akapporuḷ**, Sutram 1.
2. In the period of the first two saiva Samaya Acharyas and the reign of Rajasimha Pallava.
3. ஓரேருழவன் Kuṟuntokai 131.
4. Puṟam, 35.
5. puṟam, 40.

life rather than increasing comforts. But whatever comforts the industry created were concentrated in the courts of royalty and the mansions of the rich. Even gifted poets are pictured as perpetual dependants on royal patronage. It is, thus, not a matter for wonder that the values of the people were structured on calls for hospitality and alms giving.[6]

Industry, then, was of secondary importance, often a subsidiary to agricultural operations and commercial endeavours. It consisted in the efforts of the smiths of all kinds and the carpenter and the mason. They built boats, made vehicles, constructed houses, manufactured agricultural implements, wove cloth and so on. The expert nature of the manufactures, however, accounted for a brisk foreign trade, especially in gold ornaments and cotton fabrics. Pepper and sandalwood which were natural products of the land were also in great demand in foregin markets. This meant that political power, commerical wealth, priestly privileges and the labour of the worker formed a decreasing order of economic prosperity. There were carpenters capable of making eight cars a day[7] and there is a mention of a blacksmith working hard in his smithy.[8] But the simple efforts of individual workers, however talented, could not qualify the economy to be called industrial.

Nor was it a money economy. It is impossible now to say how far minted coins were exchanged for goods and services and how far monetary transactions took the place of or even supplemented barter. Lumps of gold and some coins are spoken of and some copper coins of even the Sangam age have survived as numismatic curiosities, but it is almost certain that coinage did not play an important role in market transactions. But it is quite possible that foreign traders from the Mediterranean region used coins for exchange of goods and probably even services; but Tamilian traders have left no trace of their coins in foreign countries and local literature refers often only to barter which certainly was the accustomed mode of market dealings.

The most important aspect of that economy was that it was very largely 'uncertainty' based. As mentioned above, the monsoons

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6. Kural : The Pāyiram : 4 chapters. The prefatory chapters of the Kuṟaḷ sum up the situation by ascribing to the ascetics the wisdom which emphasised the importance of aṟam which in its turn depended on the rains which finally stemmed from the grace of God.

7. Puṟam, 87.

8. Puṟam, 170.

were uncertain; for it was, as it even now is, unpredictable. The peasant literally lookedup to the heavens for rains. Charity which could abate the immediate terrors of poverty can never be its permanent cure. And charity was equally uncertain. The peasant prayed to the gods for the rains and the destitute prayed to the rich for alms. The alleviation of poverty depended on the discretion of the heavens and of the chieftains. There was nothing in the shape of secular planning that could alter this state of affairs.

Charity, as just now noticed, could not solve the problem of poverty; but it is doubtful if the society in those times considered poverty a solvable problem. The wise men of that society rationalised the ground reality by making even poverty seem to be a blessing or a virtue; and occasional mention was made of the desirablity of an economically uneven society.[9] The sense of iniquity which a non-egalitarian economic order can generate was mitigated by the conscious creation of a contentment economy which was made possible by making a virtue of a necessity. This was raised to the position of a moral philosophy,[10] which blunted the sharp edge of any possible motivation for economic development.

Famines, as stated above, did occur frequently and the causes were largely natural, though human inability to anticipate and prevent them was also partially responsible for their occurrence. Once they occurred, they were allowed to run their full and natural course, for there were no institutional means of ending them. On two occasions at least divine intervention is mentioned as the instrument of ending famines. The instance of a Buddhists ascetic causing rains to fall in the days of Rajasimha Pallava shows as much the mental attitudes of the myth makers as the economic consequences of famines.

The economy could just manage itself because the population of the country was certainly not disproportionate to the strength of the economy. In fact in the countryside it should have been sparse, or rendered so by frequent famines, wars and diseases; though capital cities, the large market towns and the few ports through which much of the foreign trade flowed were crowded with teeming populations. The commerical wealth of the market towns took care of the large population in those places and the simplicity, bordering on primitivity, of rural life rendered it independent of material wealth.

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9. Kuṟaḷ 1058.

10. போதுமென்ற மனமே பொன் செய்யும் மருந்து.

The king, his family and his court were surely the most prosperous element in the society. His resources were made up not only by the usual taxes, cesses and tolls but also frequently supplemented by the economic benefits of successful aggression on neighbouring territories. If the martial adventure failed, the economic situation could not be made worse; but if it succeeded, the loot and the booty and the tribute that followed more than made up the risks of war. This is a plausible explanation for the very frequent occurrence of war in ancient Tamilnad, as of course elsewhere too in ancient India. The beneficial aspect of war was that it could reduce population (directly in the battlefield and indirectly elsewhere in the country), but its evil consisted in disturbing existing economy. Even when a king waged a successful war, the economic benefits of the enterprise would be concentrated in the king's treasury and the coffers of his immediate associates, and there is no indication that it was shared with the general public - except by way of digging irrigation tanks for agricultural operations and building temples for spiritual merit. The king did not invest much in the creation and maintenance of his armies and the management of a war could not have been financially taxing; but the hopes of material benefit for the top brass were very high and hence the wars.

There is a theory that early Tamil monarchs fought wars to replenish sagging economies, though the advertised reason was 'glory'. It has been suggested that 'these military raids were symptomatic of the resource management system that evolved in the Tamil country';[11] but it must be remembered that even prosperous kings with overflowing resources have indulged in wanton aggression; e.g., the Moghuls had no dire economic necessity to invade the Deccan; so that non-economic motivation could easily be responsible for military adventures.

The economy of the Tamils was not evolving but merely growing through the centuries. It was unorganised charity-based and was neither capitalist nor egalitarian. This character of the economy grew in quantitative terms from very early Sangam times to protomodern times when the advent of modern European powers in India introduced the capitalist economy suitably modified for colonial areas. It was the same kind of economy growing in larger and larger concentric circles expressing the same conditions without involving any qualitative changes leading to either capitalism or economic egalitarianism.

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11. Vide, G.W. Spenser in 'Journal of Asian Studies', Vol. xxxv, No. 3, May (1976)

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A STUDY OF ECONOMIC FORMATION OF A TAMIL CLAN, THROUGH AN AVAILABLE SANGAM DISCOURSE

S. Carlos

The point that Tamil Literature possesses lots of evidence to know and theorise the early social and economic institutions of India is seldom recognised by Indian scholars. But a careful study of Sangam literature will shed light to know how the early Tamils practised barter system among differnt clans and thereby gives us clues to understand the mode of production and other related social, economic and political formations. Usually the Indian scholars who venture into this area of early Indian society very rarely refer Tamil sources, particiularly Sangam Literature.

The source material available in the form of literary references and similes in Tamil, no doubt follow strict codifications of the earlier literary conventions. These literary evidences form a discourse which is really a 'textual space', jointly created by the speaker and the listener of the poems and by a variety of the textual strategies. The tradition of editing the various Sangam poems either on the basis of the theme or the number of lines of the poem undoubtedly was guided by the ideas and traditions of the collector (Tokuttō<u>n</u>) and the king who commisoned the collection (Tokuppittō<u>n</u>). We are not fortunate enough to know the guidelines that formed the basis of the collections apart from the thematic or formal patterns set out by the collections themselves. But we know through these collections that the people who collected and compiled these poems not only set in order the chaotic natural literary outpourings but also put the idea of history and the social structure in order.

The Sangam texts, according to a scholar[1] represent a span of at least four centuries. So the social, economic and other systems that ruled the minds of the early Tamils have to be seen not as facts but as group of facts arranged or structured as economic, political or ideological configurations.

Here we have to seek the method which helps us to overcome the difficulty of not having chronologically arranged details on economic, social or juridico-political formations of earlier Tamils. These economic and other facts occurring haphazardly all over the texts of Sangam Literature are hitherto arranged by traditional Tamil scholars on a fictious, linear order as to present a well-ordered and regular dynastic history of the Tamils.

This linear dynastic history of kings and queens were, most of the time, written on the basis of guesses and hypotheses. A respected scholar, K.N. Sivarajapillai expresses the difficuly of writing a dynastic history, based on the poetically pleasing lines of early poets. The marxists who entered the scene of Tamil historiography and sociological study of early texts, to some extent, changed this course of study. Sivathamby, a notable Marxist scholar of early literature thinks that Sangam poetry represents the process of tribal lineages giving way to the emergence of aristocracy.[2] Another scholar K. Subramanian tries to give an account of how smaller societies coalesced to form a bigger kingdom which were later ruled by mighty kings called **Vēntan̲**[3].

These Marxist Tamil scholars tried to delineate the various factors like method of production, means of production etc., to base their research on a historical materialist methodology. The scientific character of these researches go a long way to fulfil the much needed study to understand the socio-economic foundation of the Sangam society. Here, thanks to the much acclaimed methodology of historical

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1. *எ.வி.சுப்ரமண்ய அய்யர், தமிழ் ஆராய்ச்சியின் வளர்ச்சி, சென்னை, 1971.*
2. Sivathambi, Karthigesu, **Development of Aristocracy in Ancient Tamilnadu,** Vidyodaya Art, sci, Lett., Vol. 4, No. 1.
3. Araaichi, No. 14, Jan. 74.

materialism these scholars could introduce into the outdated dynastic concept of history a new pattern of thought which structurally relates history with the productive pattern of the society.

The mode of production, according to Emmanuel Terray[4] includes the economic base, juridico - political superstructure and ideological perspective. Thus the study of economic activity of a segment of ancient Tamils (as sangam literature shows that Tamils lived in a segmentary form of society) cannot be carried out unless one knows the related concepts of primitive politics, traditional thoughts of the group and their history. It will be curious and useful here to know that understanding of history, particularly after the post-modern phase leans heavily on literature, as historiography today is impossible without the scientific understanding of the text. (Text, to give an oversimplified explanation is constructed by the complex, multilayered relations as seen between written and unwritten expressions of human thoughts).

Now we can rename 'Sangam Literature' as 'Sangam Text'. This renaming will enable us to understand the follwing components and their mutual relationships. They are the

1. Economic
2. Juridico-political
3. Ideological
4. Historical and
5. Discursive

levels of the text. This kind of study of economic heritage of Tamils can be carried out in the light of recent developments in human sciences like Marxism, Structuralism, Economic anthropology and Post-structuralism.

As Sangam Literature displays different clusters (tiṇai and tuṟai) of poems, very ancient and very late types indistinctly, we have to select a supposed to be early cluster, and carry out our research.

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4. Terray, Emmanuel, **Marxism and Primitive Societies**, A Monthly Review, London, 1972, p. 97.

Thus a small group of Sangam poems deemed to represent the most ancient lineage pattern of Tamil socieity is subjected to the new methodological approach. This approach presents one level of formation, say economics, as connected with other levels of formations of primitive ideology, primitive politics etc., on a very complex network of relations.

The text selected by us for the study is a few of Puṟaṉāṉūṟu poems, a collection of 400 poems of Sangam period. The group of poems selected fall under the theme of Makaṭpāṟkāñci (puṟam 336 to 355), a division according to Tolkāppiyar, speaks of the wars of the chiefs against the mighty kings who desires to marry the chief's daughter.[5] If we subject these poems for a careful perusal, from a theoretical point of view as mentioned above, to understand their socio-political formation, we see on the outset an antagonistic relation between the local warrior chief and the powerful king.

A study of the text of these poems reveals that the king (Vēntaṉ)[6] represents a culture and style with which the warrior chief of ancient lineage (Mutukuṭi) has nothing in common. Usually the king is depicted as being comparatively of superior wealth and sometimes as having an army of elephants, horses, chariots and men. The epithets used by the poets to describe the king show this.[7] The king arrives on the scene when the daughter of the chief passes by; or, he is seen enquiring the poet who the girl there is. One poem (puṟam 345) removes the doubt whether the king is a known person or not, by describing him as **Vampa Vēntar** which means 'new king'.

The antagonising warrior chief of ancient lineage represent the local land of rice cultivation which is traditionally attributed to the theme of **Marutam** poems. The chief is usually the father of the girl whom the new king of unknown background (this can be surmised from

5. Tolkāppiyam, Puṟattiṇaiyiyal, p.24.

6. This word **Vēntaṉ** (வேந்தன்) is exclusively used throughout this group of poems to denote only the kings who came in request of the warrior's daughter. Both Sivathambi and K. Subramanian believe that **Vēntaṉ** stands for the 'King'.

7. *'கொற்ற வேந்தர்' (புறம். 338), 'கடுமான் வேந்தர்' (புறம். 350), 'கடல் கண்டன்ன கண்ணகன் தானை' (புறம். 351).*

a careful reading of poems) wishes to marry as against the resolve of the warrior chief. The chief's principled stand is vindicated by his sons (tannaiyar) who plunges into war along with their father to uphold the belief of their father and not falling a pray either to the riches of the new king or to his mighty elephants, horses, men and chariot. Even the mother of the girl, says a poet,[8] does not think of avoiding the fight by accepting to give her daughter in marriage to the king. One of the commentators of Tolkāppiyam[9] thinks that the warrior chief of **makaṭpāṟkāñci** division of poems is either from a merchant or a Veḷḷāḷar community is not of importance here.

As regards the other warriors of the chief, we are given to understand that they mainly form the chief's own members of the kinship. Along with the other members, the chief and his warrior sons who carry frightening spears made out of iron, come to defend their village. Some other young fighters, adept in archery[10] are fed by the chief.[11] The other warriors of fearful sight who stand by the chief, looking like a group of tigers[12] are from his own kinship.[13]

Now we are in a position to draw a conclusion that the warrior chief of ancient lineage is really the chief of a kinship clan. This clan is a well-knit society of a closed type. This social relationship within the clan and their economic activities of the clan are based on clan relationship. The chief is presumably wealthy enough to feed many[14] and has a clearly demarcated and well-guarded territory[15] perhaps to safeguard the wealth of that region as it is rich due to rice cultivation.

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8. *புறம். 336.*
9. Naccinārkkiniyar.
10. *'வல்வில் இளையர்' (புறம். 353).*
11. *'வல்வில் இளையர்க்கு அல்குபதம் ஆற்றா*
    தொல்குடி மன்னன்' (புறம். 353)
12. *'புலிக் கணத்தன்ன கடுங்கண் சுற்றம்' (புறம். 341).*
13. *புறம். 346, 341.*
14. *புறம். 353.*
15. Though a few forts of these chiefs are well fortified, as times change, some forts are beginning to wear away. (See Puṟam 336 and 355 for their contrasting nature).

His relation to his kinship and to the whole clan which is made up of many kinship families is one of authority. His duty is to guard the clan with swords, spears, bow and arrows.

The next point which will demonstrate the resolve of the warrior chief also shows that the elderly patriarch is averse to new changes of the society, both economical and cultural. As is usual in many tribal societies, if women are exchanged from one society or clan to another, usually wealth or other material gifts are given in compensation. This authoritarian patriarch who upholds ancient tradition, culture and economic status of a rice cultivating clan of ancient Tamil socieity neither accepts the offer of the powerful king's material wealth[16] nor wishes to marry his daughter to him. He prefers to fight the king though at times to meet a disastrous end.

But it is interesting to know that the reason the warrior-chief or the others of the clan give, for waging a war with the powerful king is very ambiguous. A few poets think whether the king's acceptance of authority of the clan would ease the situation.[17] But the poets are very clear that even if the king is willing to show respect to the clan chief's authority, the chief is not going to arrange for the marriage. In this context, the chief, his family and relatives (kinship) will give their women in marriage to a warrior of their choice. But their choice is ambiguously stated in these poems. The girl will be given, says one poet, to a warrior, but not to outsiders (porunarkkallatu pir̲arkkākātē - Pur̲am. 342). The other poems are also equally vague about the conditions that the clan chief prescribes to establish a marriage contract.[18]

Now we have to draw certain conclusions from the above set of descriptions that we have come across. One is that the clan-chief

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16. புறம், 345, 344, 343, 352.

17. 'வேந்து குறை உறவும் கொடாஅன்' (புறம். 341)

'பணிந்து வந்து கொடுப்பினும்......' (புறம். 343) give the tone that even if the king shows traditional respect to the chief, he will not be considered worthy of giving his daughter.

18. 'நிரலல்லோர்க்குத் தரலோ இல்' (புறம். 345)

'புரையரல்லோர் வரையலள் இவள்' (புறம். 343)

makes a distinction between their warriors who follow rules of clan system and others.[19] Second is that he doesnot want to exchange his daughter even for more wealth. Now it becomes very clear that a traditional clan does not want a new member to enter its fold to cause any social and economic change or any change in tradition. Rather the clan prefers to wage a war with a more powerful king and cause destruction, and in the end, cause disaster both to its members including the chief's own daughter and to the village.[20]

What we have seen in the clan chief's attitude is the kinship system's inherent reluctance to enter into a contract with an unknown social system represented by the powerful king. Now it becomes clear as to know the characteristics of the clan.

This clan is constituted of many kinship families or groups. So, among themselves they have an inclination to exchange women for other gifts as these kinship groups are held together by a "give and take" policy of reciprocity. The reciprocal practice of giving a woman in exchange of some meterial goods or wealth as gift from other clans, establishes the truth of the gift exchanging practice of the tribes which is a universal practice.

The rice cultivating land of the clan-chief, according to other evidences[21] practised barter system.[22] They give rice in exchange of salt when the oxdrawn carts driven by **umaṇar**[23] (people from sea side) arrived there. As we have evidence in literature to this effect, rice cultivation commands respect and these cultivators were self-sufficient. This puts the leaders of the rice cultivating region in a position of respect. K. Sivathambi gives a vivid picture of the barter system of the early Tamils:

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19. When a king asks the poet '*ஏனோர் மகள் கொல் இவள்*' it is understood that the king is unknown to the girl's father i.e., clan chief. (*புறம் 342*)

20. A lot of poems refer to the anguish, the consequence the war will create.

21. One of **makaṭpāṟkāñci** poems itself bears testimony to this. see. Puṟam. 343.

22. Usually rice is exchanged for salt. There are evidences to show that people who prepared salt (the umaṇar) carried them in oxdrawn cart to exchange it for rice.

"Produces of one region were bartered for the produces of another. In this transaction, the agriculturists stood in an advantageous position in that all other groups needed rice more than the farmers needing others' produces. We hear of persons from the cattle-keeping and the fishing communities going about hawking their produces for rice"[24] (Puram 293, Akam 60, Nar 97, 118, 142).

There are references also to other items of cultivations like millet, beans etc.,[25] As Sangam literature is undoubtedly the literature of megalithic age, the use of iron is known to ancient Tamils. There are innumerable references to the effect that the spears used by the men of the clan who opposes the king were made of iron. It is easy to presume that iron tools were used for cultivation too. But the use of iron might have largely helped the bigger and mightier kings who are depicted as an emerging menace to the lineage based societies and their chiefs.[26] Here the concept of political power and of the state are all brought into focus. But in pirimitive conditions of production usually the political power and the state are not well defined formations like in feudalism and capitalism.

For the emergence of state, there has to be, as an intitial requirement, surplus labour. Now we have enquired whether the ancient clan, we have been referring, had surplus production. In order to understand this, we may see the occurrence of the mention of swords, spears and bows and arrows in certain poem and this proves that there was authority among a group of people or among a few of the people over others. Thus the economic system which is linked to other levels of the social system based on primitive modes of labour and production and certain controlling forces and thus all are intertwined. The economists are of the view

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23. Akam 159, 167, 173, 191, 298, 310 Kur. 388, Puram. 60, 307, 313 etc.,

24. Sivathambi, Karthigesu, **Development of Aristocracy in Ancient Tamil Nadu**, Vidyodya Art, Sci, Lett. Vol. 4. No.1.

25. *புறம், 335 (தினை, வரகு, அவரை, கொள்).*

26. K.N. Sivarajapillai, J.R., Marr, Sivathambi and K. Subramanian speak of this conflict in their respective books and articles.

that if there is surplus quantity of production over what is necessary, it will in the long run lead to the formation of authority. Usually, in primitive communistic form of societies, since there is communal production and consumption, no state and politics can exist and hence no chance of authority. But since the idea of authority leads to protect the group and naturally leads to wage war against the enemy, as presented above, the society represented by **makaṭpāṟkāñci** is not a primitive communistic type of society. And hence those poems represent the ideological formation of the kinship clans that **makaṭpāṟkāñci** speaks of. But we cannot say that there were clear cut formations though it was a hierarchically ordered society. This is a very crucial point to study the ancient Tamil society.

In **makaṭpāṟkāñci** the chief happens to be the father of the bride and the authority is vested with him. This shows that the kinship is based on blood relations. So the labour - in agriculture and hunting - produces necessary wealth first, and then, subsequently surplus wealth, which is exchanged for other items like salt. Matrimonial relations, in the primitive society are very important as exchange of women and goods are essential to carry on life in a lineage based society. The economic activities are thus inextricably linked with the kinship structure and thus with the total function and structure of a lineage based small societies as it comes to be represented in the **makaṭpāṟkāñci** group of poems.

The concept of circulation is very important in the primitive economy. The circulation of work force from one community to another are based on the bond one community has with another. This bond is stablished and strengthened by matrimonial exchange. Let us quote Emmanuel Terray who has thrown new light on the study of economic activities of primitive societies from a well developed marxist point of view.

27. Terray, Emmanuel, **Marxism and Primitiva Societies**, Monthly Review, 1972, p. 164.

> "..... this circulation is generally brought about by matrimonial exchanges which create links between communities. Among the Guro these exchanges subject to the law of "general exchange" applied through the system of bride-price......."[27]

The economic activities of these people cannot be separated from their life situtations and thereby their ideological moorings. The chief, as depicted in **makaṭpāṟkāñci** group of poems, is adament, sticking on to the tribal ways, beliefs and ideologies. He definitely understands that his decision will have greater impact not only on their marriage custom alone, but on their whole history, life, birth and death, in the long run.

This traditional chieftain is used to the ideology of exchange among equals. He knows the long cherished custom of exchange of a women of one clan to another woman of a different clan through matrimony. So what the chieftain faithfully guards, is not only the age old custom, but also a philosophy which emphasizes the exchange of identical things. Exchange of an equal for an unequal is not known to the chieftain. This ideological conflict drives to resort to war. Thus a primitive war is throught to be the form of language which insists that thre is no exchange with an unequal. This is perhaps the core of primitive lineage based society's philosophy of life, to use an Althussarian term, ideology, though not expressed in words and sentences. The refusal of the clan chief to part with his daughter for a king of superior status is basically an economic, ideological and political decision, though the chieftain is unaware of.

Stretching the idea of primitive society's economic transactions a little further, we shall understand that the surplus produce, say rice, which is exchanged for another surplus produce, salt, for (as these two are the main produces exchanged in marutam) shows that both produces share equal value. We know value is a concept well used by political economists. Until money is introduced as a sign to denote the value of the produce, (that is again the value of labour) value remains ambiguous.

What Gayatri Charavorthy Spivak, an internationally renowned Indian scholar and a post modern interpreter of Marx, says in some other context is appropriate here.

> "Until the encroachment of money in its historical material support - the fixing value is **ad hoc** and inconvenient."

The chieftain, guided by the tradition and genius of his elders who would have done the same when confronted with such a situation, intuitively fixes a value to the 'thing' which is supposed to be exchanged. Thus his understanding of the exchange rules (exchange of both women and materials) is dictated by history and tradition though it is liable to be translated into the language of modern economics. But we should not reduce them to mere economics.

The next aspect of our study is a brief intervention to question the discursive construction of these **makaṭpāṟkāñci** poems. These poems form a network of relations on the textual level which are determined both by the reader (king or the court) and the writer (the singer or the poet) of these poems. We note that poets explicity show a sense of anguish over the decision of the clan chief. They describe the mother of the girl who supports her husband lacks **aṟam** and **paṇpu,** two Tamil words, giving the meaning of virtue and honour. This shows that the new ideas that have been catching up with the formation of bigger kingdoms is in favour of the mighty kings and not in support of vanishing tribal chiefs. And hence these poets unanimously uphold the value system of kings. One cannot argue that these poets were worried over the event of a war as the same poets do not hesitate to sing in praise of the exploits of the same kings when he is in a war-field. The chief's simple way of life and their unsophisticated behavior should have impressed the poets.

But instead they associate with the new kings and create new language (aṟam and paṇpu) in support of them. Since the chiefs represent underdevelopment, they do not have a language to speak for them. The silence of this mute language has to be provided with a language of expression and then the modern knowledges of politico-economics and

history will come forth to articulate and construct a text in favour of the chiefs, to the astonishment of todays reader and students of ancient poetry.

Thus the ideological veil that hampered the perspectives of the poets has to be removed by a discourse of today. This modern discourse will, after centuries of misrepresentation by poets of **makaṭpāṟkāñci** clear the cloud surrounding the deeds of the ancient warrior chiefs. Now we may conclude that the local warrior - chief of the comparatively undeveloped clan based society, by refusing to marry his daughter to the wealthy king, is a man of great courage to safeguard a tradition, a culture and ethnic identity against the onslaught of the dominant economic power and its related ideologies.



WARS AND STATE TREASURY IN ANCIENT TAMILNADU

S. Sivakami

Whether civilized or uncivilized the barbaric tendency to war is something of an animal spirit ingrained in the very blood of man and frequently manifested indeed. When the sense of possession developed, particularly in the case of land this belligerent trait became a prominent factor in the course of human life in all clime. Human history has been mainly narration of causes of wars, battle fields, defeats and conquests and consequences of wars. In the later period of human history kings undertook military expeditions for genuine or sundry reasons and naturally it would have caused the exchequer a heavy strain in finding ways and means to fill the coffer to meet expenses. Naccin̲ārkkin̲iyar, the commentator on Tolkāppiyam, enumerates the several financial resources of a king. The king he says can accrue his income by,

> confiscating the stolen wealth from thief, getting one sixth of the harvest as tax, collecting customs duty, fixing tax on the Royal Bounty to Brahmins, receiving wealth and money from the vanquished as a mark of recognising the victor's sovereignty, confiscating the property of those who has no rightful heirs or any Brahmin to inherit, carrying on trade when the state treasury depleted, imposing fine on those who were unrighteous in their deed (Tol. Poruḷ. 75).

But we have to doubt if this income, or a lion's share of it, had been ever utilized to the best social or economic advantage of the common people at large because our ancient literature and edicts have only a

meagre account of such undertakings by kings. It shall be said that the ancient Tamils were not anything different from the universal human tendency to warfare.

The message of the warfare, explicit in the edicts and literature record the details of some battles and the expenses of war. The present paper is an attempt to analyse the modern operandi of the ways and means of the war finance, the deliberation in collecting and disbursing the finance for purposes of war and its impact on society.

Causes of War

According to investigations thirty seven wars are recorded in Cankam literature* but, no doubt, there might have been many more wars which have gone unrecorded in literature. Of the manyfold reasons of war the lust of conquest, dynastic feuds, jealousy, the ambitious desire to establish one's own martial prowess, the attempt to keep up one's territorial integrity, the greediness to expand one's own territory and sometimes even superstitious beliefs were the commonest ones. When these reasons joined hands with pride and prestige wars became horrible at the expense of human value. The ancient kings and chieftains having no other higher pursuit in life were always prepared to go to war at all cost.

The Cautionary steps

War had been a perennial activity of a king in ancient times. As a result kings were bound to undertake some precautionary steps to ward off any greater calamity to the country and its people. There was a council of advicers to the king. It was Eṇpērāyam (The council of the Eight). It consisted among others the king and the commander in chief of the army. The army comprised infantry, cavalry, elephanṭry and chariotry.

Speaking of the requisites for a perfect rule of a king, Tiruvaḷḷuvaṛ enunciates army, people, wealth, minister, friends and forts.

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* K. Panturankan, Paṇṭait Tamiḻar Pōriyal Vāḻkkaiyum Taṟkālappōr Naṭaimuṟaiyum, pp. 236-241.

The respective importance of each is indicated by the descending order of their enumeration and army stands foremost and fort stands hindmost in the order. The other form the structure in between the two. Necessarily, the king had to maintain his army in tact to meet any emergency, as those were the days when the greediness to extend one's rule was a tour-de-force in kings. Therefore the king himself could not hesitate to spend a lot of the income on the army to maintain it well equipped in all aspects. Apart from foreign invasions, the king had to be alert to surreptitious insurgencies within his own country. Only when peace reigns in the country there can be economic prosperity that will make art and literature flourish in a country.

However, belligerent kings had a fancy to war, in the name of displaying their prowess. On such occasions they use the welfare of their countries as the motive force for war. These war-mongering kings had tenacious hold on the coffers of their kingdoms and drained out the gathered wealth in a trice. As a consequence the people were heavily taxed and the people would have usually borne with no grin.

To help these kings there existed professional soldiers called 'maṟakkuṭiyiṉar' (men of heroic descent) whose heroic exploits are immortalised in the Puṟanāṉūṟu (224, 279, 290,292). There had been a certain range of various offensive and defensive weapons such as spears, swords, bows, arrows and shields and there were black-smith's anvils enough both to manufacture these weapons anew and to repair the broken or misshaped ones. Oil was applied on them to save them from rusting and on occasions of peace these weapons were kept trim in the armoury as revealed by the verse by Avvaiyār:

While here your weapons wrought with consumate skill
Bedecked with flowers and peacock feathers fine
With gloss of oil are kept in array neat
In securely guarded armoury strong and safe
The arms of my lord, who delights to feast us all
In prosperous times and willingly shares his lot
In adverse days with the poor and still remains

The lord of their kith and kin, all twisted, blunt
And broken as they oft pierced the flesh of foes
In fields, all lie there heaped in blacksmiths' forge (Puram. 95)

From this we shall infer that the king would have spent a good amount of the state's income in acquiring those arms and protecting them for use in times of need. These weapons were required for all four divisions of the army. The Caṅkam verses show the natural need for certain minimum of arms in the daily life of the people for the protection of men, women and their property when they travelled from place to place.

Under the term 'Kutirai Maram', the valour of cavalry, Tolkāppiyam illustrates the remarkable feat played by horses in battle field. These horses, as described in the Paṭṭinappālai, were mostly imported from foreign countries across the Ocean. But, horses were not acclamatized to our climate and as a result, exclusive care had to be tended to keep alive these horses and that must have been a drain to the treasury of the state. However, since the native animals, exlephants, had been in abundance there was a huge section of elephantry and it was larger in strength than cavalry. These elephants were widely used in Eyirpōr, a process of war to demolish enemy's fort, which was the principle defence organ in wars.

These animals were sufficiently trained to attack the enemies in the field with out being scared away by the various terrific noises with which battle fields echoed (Mullai. 30-36). And certainly this would have been a special costly training taxing the coffer of the state. In a poem Kārikkaṇṇanār of Kāvirippūmpaṭṭinam describes this practice:

Hail your triumph invincible by your foes
Oh king, who stands as firm as the target of coral true
At which several Kosars young to train to fight
By hurling their triumphal spears with as fierce a rage
As at enemies in the battle field (Puram. 169)

The person commanding the army in the field either rode on an elephant or went in a chariot. There had been a wide use and vast

strength of the chariotry in war, as remarked by Kārikkaṇṇaṉār in the verses in Puṟanāṉūṟu. With chariots spreading the length and width of the battlefield' (verse 109), 'The wing of chariots strong (verse 377) and the wing of soldiers in blackwood chariots (Cilampu 22:12) the references indicate that the chariot wing of the army was not anything less in strength than the other components. This speaks of the fact that the state would not have expended any nominal amount in constituting and maintaining the wing.

However, there is least indication in any context to show how this expenses for the production and maintenance of weapons were maintained.

There were three types of forts namely land fort, water fort and rock fort. The land fort was built on ordinary ground but as it would be vulnerable to the onslaught of enemies it was fortified with deep moat running round the fort on the outside and crocodiles were reared to obstruct the advancement of enemies. Sometimes a thick forest was grown to serve as a defence. Kings built more than one fort for their safety.

Water forts and rockforts were natural formations of defence. Rockforts, built on rocks, obviously strained the coffer of the state as the transport of the building materials to the up hill spot would not have been an easy task in ancient times. Further, certain kinds of weapons were kept on the fort walls as a warning to aggressive enemies.

Since the movement of enemies are to be watched in war times and the government had to keep an eye on the infiltration of spies, it became necessary to maintain an observation post which implies again the construction of such towers and regular maintenance of them through out the year. The poet Irumpiṭartalaiyār refers to this observation tower in Puṟunāṉūṟu (3:19). It was a practice that any spy caught red-handed would be sentenced to death. So proper fortification was credit to the strength and government of a king and his country.

The enumerated particulars precisely demonstrate the precautionary measures taken by the ancient kings and also imply the

expenditure the country had to incur in defence, i.e., this large expense did not yield any quid pro quo.

Apart from the open precautionary measures there were other personal and secret operation on the part of the crown either directly or in collaboration with his immediate inferiors in office, particularly connected with warfare. Spies were employed to go on espionage to gather details of the strength, preparations and manoeuvres of the enemies so that the country could be alert and well prepared for any assault. Strategic planning military operation and success entirely depended on the intelligence of the spies. Unlike royal messengers who were the authorised representatives of their kings to conduct political talk with enemies, the work of spies was overwrought with dangers to their very lives. Death lurking at their heels the spies ventured and hoped to accomplish their work to the advantage of their own superiors. Usually, scarcely mercy was shown to spies when caught. Considering the calamity the assignment was frought with, we do not know how exactly the kings responded to their venturous men's undaunted service when they had to end their lives in the gallows of the enemies. No doubt some sort of financial assistance might have accrued to the family of the affected spies. Tolkāppiyam also gives a serious consideration of this wing of the government.

Opposed to the secret work of spies was the open endeavours of the envoy. At times with a desire to avoid direct and bloody confrontation and the consequent loss of lives, kings sent their trusted wisemen to foes to settle any dispute amicably. Some times poets were employed as emissaries and the mission of these individuals had succeeded as evinced by the poems of Avvaiyār (Puṟam. 95) and Pullāṟṟūr Eyiṟṟiyaṉār (Puṟam 13). Naturally the expenses for these activities were borne by the government.

Pre-War Events

Before the commencement of war the king hosted the army with a royal feast such as 'carousel' (uṇṭāṭṭu) and 'banquet' (peruñcōṟṟunilai) in which the presence of the king himself always

boosted the morale of the army men to fight for the king and for the country.

Be not angry, you petty minded chaff
Accusing him of that when on behalf of the king
The delicious wine in proportion perfect mixed
Was offered in the feast, he brushed aside.
And sprang with naked sword in hand to fight,
But know this fact, that waiting least for his turn,
To face the foes, he rushes forth with sword
In hand, as now he stands, with manly heart
To stand at the head to cross the enemies might (Pu̲ram 292)

No information is given regarding the source for this expense and it will not be wrong on our part to assume that the entire expense would have been drawn from the state treasury. Further, the kings succumbed to the praise of men around them, particularly when they were about to any great exploits, and waxed munificent in bestowing gifts to them. Cēra̲n ceṅkuṭṭuva̲n presented rich largess to the several artists who came to greet him with the hope of success in his daring northern exploits (Cilampu 26:126). This incident may be a clue to point out that the kings might have lavished gifts on men who blessed them success in wars.

Commencement of war

The war generally began with seige. Seige would not have been a welcome procedure especially when it was prolonged because in such context both the seiging and the seiged suffer in proportion to the preparation of both the parties to meet the war. Kōvūr kiḻār in a poem (Pu̲ram 44) vividly portrays the struggle and sufferings of Āvūr which heavily suffered from severe seige. In Pu̲ranān̲ūr̲u, again (109), Kapilar gives a clear picture of the strain the three kings underwent because of their seige. Yet the emergence of the beseiged king from the fort and involving himself directly in the confrontation with the beseiging king was considered a mark of great and real prowess and it was highly acclaimed.

But a prolonged seige spelt disaster to the stock of food stuffs, drinking water and the other necessities of daily life on both the sides, making them weak and demanding more expenses.

War and its aftermath

It is well established that artists, singers and dancers accompanied armies. Maid servants were also employed to do sundry works in the camp. Puṟanāṉūṟu 33 describes how when the battle for the day was over at the sunset, the artists displayed their skill to provide relaxation to tired soldiers. This dancing and singing made the wounded warriors be oblivious of their pain. Further, some medical men also accompanied them. These details imply the vast expenses the country had to offer for war.

The ancient Tamils greatly admired when philanthropic generosity combined with the natural prowess in the battlefield. There were instances as recorded in Puṟanāṉūṟu 370 and 371, where the enthusiasm of the kings was unabated in displaying their munificence in giving out gifts to the people who approached them in the battlefield with an appeal for charity. If the king had the advantage of a grand victory over the enemy his indulgence in charity knew no bounds.

The aftermath of war stood foremost in adverse economic impact. This impact shall be analysed on two counts. The impact on the victor and the impact on the vanquished. The entire country and the vanquished king's wealth devolved to the triumphant. The victorious carried away gold and diamonds, elephants and horses and invaluable artistic collections of the defeated. They were either offered directly by the defeated king to his proved superior in the war, or plundered by the victorious army. They were also claimed as a right of the victor. Again, acquiring the royal drum, royal elephant, golden crown and such paraphernalia of the marks of sovereignity of the defeated king added feathers to the cap of the victorious king.

Elephants and gold formed a lion's share of the tribute paid by the defeated king. But what proportion of this tribute occurred to the

coffer of the state is doubtful because the victorious kings were magnificently magnanimous in their munificence. For, on such occasions they lavished gifts on poets and artists who were profuse in their praise of their hero. Many poems of Cankam literature bear witness to this conduct of kings.

Is it right, oh! lord Kuṭumi who presents
Ministrels with golden lotus flower
And poets with chariots fine elephants decked
To deprive there your foes of their lands
And bestow bounties rich to almsmen here?

Further, the soldiers who displayed exceptional courage and war like feat in the field were justifiably honoured with gifts of villages, as a mark of royal recognition of their daring service (Puṟam. 297). Usually the king took the plundered wealth and gold into his custody and distributed them among his soldiers according to their merit as he decided. This practice is mentioned in Patiṟṟuppattu 81:15-18. Perhaps, this dividend itself might have been the payment of the king to his soldiers. This custom among kings reveals to us that the tribute and plundered wealth acquired from war, because of the munificence of the king, turned to be expenses. We may presume that the wealth and prosperity of the country might have made the war expenses a microscopic figure in ancient times.

The plight of the vanquished country was just opposite to this picture of the victor's land. Besides plundering and looting, the land was burnt and completely erased to the ground. In the harvest fields the crops with matured grain were trambled down and destroyed by racing horses and chariots. Elephants stirred up mud in ponds in towns and even demolished them (Puṟam 16,17). Scarcity of water and food pestered the land of the defeated for long. Caṅkam literature bears evidence to the horrid consequences of war and the inhuman behaviour of the conqueror.

The imposed tribute on the defeated drained the remaining wealth of him to the coffer of the conqueror. In order to tread down the

defeated and make them impotent to revive their economy very soon, the land was ploughed with asses and gingley seeds were sown. To make it worse, white modar plants were planted, so that agriculture, which was the very back-bone of the country, would be made defunct for years to come.

The ministrels made it their dutiful practice to sing the praise of the heroes fallen in the battle (Puṟam 260, 283). For those who showed extraordinary heroism in pitched battle and died, 'Hero-stones' were erected in memory of them and due rites and rituals were conducted. It seems that the rites to these hero-stones assumed greater importance (Puṟam 335) than rituals to deities (Puṟam 329). But we are in the dark as regards the expenses for these rites and do not know who bore, the state or the close relatives of the heroes, the expenses.

From the foregoing account about the nature and expenses of war the following conclusions shall be gleamed.

1. War was considered an opportunity to display one's prowess and manliness and it was a sure means of winning honour for self identity. Consequently even for petty reasons wars were willingly fought. So there had been innumerable battles fought to quench the thirst for honour.

2. War was only a source of expenses and in no way generally, a source of income to the state. The victor lavished the entire income from the war on almsmen, poets, artists and others. As a result we cannot judge the portion of the war income that passed into the coffer and how far it was utilised for public welfare. The only consolation, we may feel, was that a portion of the money that war yielded was used to obliviate the penury of wretched almsmen.

3. The defeated country suffered from heavy economic breakdown and took a longtime to limp back to normalcy.

4. The inclusion of the commander-in-chief of the army in the council of the Eight (Eṇpērāyam) delineates the first preference given to the defence of the country and its preference to expand a lot of the

wealth of the country on war. This expense was quite unproductive to the government.

The ancient kings had for their income the land tax which was one sixth of the harvest, customs duty and the manual service rendered by the people for public works. In the absence of sufficient evidence in literature we have to decide that these incomes might have balanced the huge expenses of war.

It shall be concluded that whether in ancient or modern time, war has been a basic instinct on the column of liabilities. It has strained the nerves of the victor and the vanquished with differences in degree. Though history has taught this lesson and our personal experiences have proved it in their flesh, the basic, human instinct, the instinct of war, remaining, as other instincts, so deep-rooted that preaching and philosophy have evinced no power to uproot or subdue that. Saner people, a handful, may go on preaching tolerance and brotherhood, but the common human blood has still the stain of jealousy and anger enough to war mongering.



FISCAL ECONOMICS OF SANGAM AGE - A STUDY OF INCOME AND EXPENDITURE OF GOVENMENT

G. Thangamani

1. Introduction

This article covers the income and expenditure of the state in ancient Tamilnadu taking evidences from Sangam literature. For the purpose of analysis, information form Puṟanāṉūṟu, Maturaikkāñci, Malaipaṭukaṭām, Paṭṭiṉappālai and Naṟṟiṇai are only considered alongside with modern concepts.

2. Explanation

The term 'Fiscal' according to Dictionaries stand for Government revenue. But in practice it stands for income, expenditure, borrowing and budget policies of the Government. Hence a study of, or, on Fiscal Economics implies a study of Income (revenue), expenditure and borrowing of Government authorities-be it a Central or State or Local Government.

Tyagi (1982)[1] defines fiscal economics as a subject dealing with the income and expenditure of public authorities and with the problem of adjusting both.

3. Ancient Situation

The concepts - Government revenue and Government expenditure are found mixed up with ethical ideas and public administration. This is the case with Greece and Rome. Fiscal economics is inalienable from

1. Tyagi B.P., (1982) Public Finance, Jaipraksh Nath & Co., Meerut.

these two. Hence Fiscal economics - for that matter Economics, itself had not been evolved as a separate discipline for a long time. In those days communities were self-sufficient and this also contributed for the slow growth of the discipline. Ancient writers had written about war, love and nature and students were taught art of war, ethics, matematics and literature. This trend was a global trend. Though taxes and expenditures of the Government occupied a good part of the activities of the state, a separate body of knowledge relating to these was not evolved. Hence this attempt.

4. Importance of the study

A study of this type will be of academic interest. Apart from this, a study of this type will indicate the origin and growth of fiscal economic ideas of ancient Tamilakam. South India especially Tamilnadu is geographically and historically a more ancient part of India. But, wherever the ideas of any aspect of early human life in India - say 'culture' is dealt with the writers start from arthsastra or epics. The Sangam literature forms a Golden Treasure of the ancient period but it has rarely been used as a reference material. One cannot disagree with George L. Hart (1975)[2] when he says '...... the source material for most ancient Indian History has been Sanskrit literature which while overwhelms in quantity, ignores for the most part, the great majority of populations of India, who were neither Brahmans nor nobles. As a result, those customs and patterns of daily life....... are not representative of the majority of people of ancient India .... Tamil literature .... reveals what atleast one part of pre-Aryan India was like'. In this respect, this paper would bring out the importance of Sangam Literature in respect of Fiscal activities of the states of that period. In this paper the fiscal activities of the states (comparable with the present Indian central Government) are dealt with because the state was the supreme authority.

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2. Georg L. Hart (1975) **Ancient Tamil Literature : Its Scholarly Past and Future** in Burton Stein (Ed.,) **Essays on South India**, Vikas Publishing House, New Delhi.

Mannan uyirttē malartalai ulakam (Puram. 186)

The financial activities of the regional (mandala) or local Governments have not been brought out as the poems give account of the country as a whole-be it ruled by kings or chieftains. The king had to raise revenue to meet administrative and war expenses.

5. Government Revenue

Government revenue is nothing but the income of the Government. There are different sources of income to the Government and they can be classified into tax source and non-tax source.

5.1. Tax Revenue

The revenue received by the Government through imposition and collection of tax is called tax revenue. The Sangam literature indicates two taxes-land revenue or land tax and customs duties.

5.1.1. Land Revenue

Land revenue is the oldest source of income to the Government. Land revenue is referred to as 'Irai' in Sangam Literature. 'Irai' is a term derived from 'Iraivan' meaning God. The king was revered as God by his citizens as he promoted the well-being of the people. Irai was paid by them towards the maintenance of the State. It was also known as 'karai' and 'Kaṭamai'. This was collected from the landlords (called as 'Vēḷirs') as a fraction of the agricultural yield. There are differences of opinion about the proportion of yield collected as land revenue and hence this point is not widened here. But land revenue formed the largest revenue source to the Government. Even today, land revenue is a main source of income to State Government in India.

Tiruntu vēl aṇṇarku viruntu irai (Malai : 319)

5.1.2. Customs Duty

This is referred to as 'Ulku' in a Sangam poem - Paṭṭinappālai. It was a tax collected at sea-ports, when the goods were exported or imported. Paṭṭinappālai describes the items exported and imported through

Kāvirippūmpaṭṭiṉam' and the procedure of marking goods with tiger symbol.

Vaikal tōṟum acaiviṉṟi
ulku ceya (Paṭṭiṇap. 124)

5.2. Non-Tax Revenue

The following are the revenue sources other than tax source.

5.2.1. Tiṟai

This stood for the tributes paid by the petty king or chieftain who became subordinate to the victorious king in a battle between them. This is similar to royalties.

Paṇintōr tēem tamvaḷi naṭappap
paṇiyār tēem paṇittuttiṟai koṇmār (Maturaik : 229-230)

5.2.2. Puravu

'Puravu' means protecting some one or something. As the king protected the people, he collected certain amount in terms of money from the people. It is similar to the special assessment collected now.

Kuṭipuravu irakkum (Puṟam. 75:4)

5.2.3. Koṇṭi

'Koṇṭi' is similar to tiṟai in its meaning but is slightly different. The winner king in a sea fight, collected this as a fine from defeated king.

koṇṭi vēṇṭuvaṉavāyiṉ koḷkeṉa (Puṟam : 51)

5.2.4 Others

Apart from the above, the king had collected tolls from those who travelled along the national highways. While granting non-tax land status on some lands, he collected a nominal sum. He recovered stolen property from thieves. Fines for law-violation also brought in revenue to the Government. Āyam was another source of revenue. It is similar to professional tax.

'Te̲ruporuḷ', 'U̲ruporuḷ', 'Iravu' and 'Kuṭimai' are also shown as revenue sources by Balusami (1984).[3] 'Te̲ruporuḷ' stood for amount paid by defeated king to another who had defeated him, but this amount was distributed to the soldiers involved in the battle. In this way it is different from koṇṭi. 'U̲ruporuḷ' is similar to death duty or confiscation of property. That is, if a rich man died with out an heir, his property would become state property. Similarly the treasure excavated would became 'U̲ruporuḷ'. 'Iravu' stood for donations colleted when the nation suffered due to any calamity, such as flood. The rich people paid donations and gifts to the Government. But it contained an element of compulsion. 'Kuṭimai' was a tax on the house or house-site. It is similar to the property tax of present day.

5.3. Principles of Taxation

By principles of taxation, it is meant the canons of taxation or the norms followed while imposing and collecting taxes.

These canons could be applied to the taxes of ancient period. The Agricultural land revenue was collected only from land lords. This would indicate that the canon of equity was observed. Canon of equity means that the rich should be taxed and poor should be exempted.

In Pu̲ranā̲n̲ū̲ru the poet Picirāntaiyār addressed the Pandiyan king A̲rivuṭai Nampi advising him not to collect heavy tax from the people, otherwise the whole nation would be wholly affected, in a way similar to the destruction caused by an elephant which entered into the field to eat crops.

a̲rivuṭai māntan̲ ne̲riya̲rintu koḷin̲ē
kōṭiyāttu nāṭu peritu nantum (Pu̲ram. 184)

.... vaḷam keṭa
pon̲n̲um koḷḷār man̲n̲ar (Na̲r. 236)

3. நா. பாலுசாமி (1984) சங்க இலக்கியத்தில் பொருளியல் நோக்கு, சங்க இலக்கியக் கட்டுரைகள், தமிழ்ப் பல்கலைக்கழகம், தஞ்சை.

The above lines from Naṟṟiṇai substantiate the view that canon of productivity should be observed in taxation. Canon of productivity implies that tax should not affect production.

The poet further stresses that the king should collect tax as the bee would suck honey from the flowers. That is the pinch of the tax should not be felt by the tax payer. The canon of convenience observed in those days is borne by this poem.

When the yield was affected due to failure of rain, the poets approached the kings and pleaded for revenue remission. Poet Veḷḷaikuṭi Nākaṉār requested the king Kuḷamuṟṟattuttuñciya kiḷḷivaḷavaṉ to cancel the tax as the people suffered due to drought. This satisfies the canon of elasticity, which implies that tax rate should be flexible so as to be increased or lowered.

Pakaṭu puṟantarunar pāram ōmpik
kuṭi puṟantarukuvai āyiṉ niṉ
aṭipuṟan tarukuvar aṭaṅkātōrē (Puṟam : 35:32-34)

As for other canons, it may be resumed that they would have been observed on account of the following facts. The rate of the tax would have been certain and simple so that people had understood and paid the land revenue and customs duty. As Paṭṭiṉappālai holds lines indicating the functioning of efficient officials at 'Pukār' port, it is inferred that principle of economy would have been observed too. Tax base could not be enlarged since agriculture was carried out on a small scale and other sectors had not developed fully. At that level of development, taxing two sources (land and customs) would be considered as satisfying the principle of diversity.

6. Public Expenditure

In early days, a state was considered as a police state with only two main duties to protect people from foreign attack and to maintain law and order within the country. With the spread of socialistic and democratic ideas the concept of state changed from police state to welfare state. Today the duties of the state have become protecting

people, maintaining law and order and promoting the welfare of the people.

But Sangam Literature shows that the concept of welfare state had been the kernel of the states in ancient Tamil Nadu. Kings provided security, maintained peace internally, promoted economic and social life. For all these, the Govt. spent its income. There was no distinction between king's expenditure and state expenditure.

6.1. Classification of Public Expenditure

Public expenditure is classified by economists in different ways. They could not be applied here. For convenience sake, the public expenditure as indicated in Sangam Literature can be classified on the basis of the functions of the state in the following way. This is the functional classification of public expenditure.

1. Defence Expenditure or Expenditure on military Establishment.
2. Administrative Expenditure.
3. Expenditure on Economic activities.
4. Expenditure on Social activities.

6.1.1 Defence Expenditures

Protecting people from foreign attack and maintaining law and order were the most important functions of the state from the very early days of political set up. To provide protection the king maintained infantry, cavalry and war elephants and navy. Besides the army, he had constructed strong fort with heighwalls surrounded by moat and forests.

Army - Velvēṟ ciṉaṅkeḷu tāṉai (Puṟam. 37.5-6)

Fort - Kaṭimatilaraṇ (Puṟam. 92.5)

Moat - Karāṅkalitta kuṇṭukaṇ akaḻi (Puṟam. 37.7)

To maintain peace, the king appointed nightwatchmen who went round with lamp in their hands.

yāmam koḷpavar cuṭarniḻaṟ katūuvum (Puṟam)

The kings maintained friendly relationship with other kings and sent ambassadors. They also sent spies to their enemies' countries. All these involved expenditures.

6.1.2 Administrative Expenditure

It may be presumed that the king would have paid remuneration to meet the expenses either in kind or in money to the members of Eṇpērāyam and Aimperumkuḻu who formed the Advisory body. Paṭṭiṉappālai also tells about efficient officials appointed for collecting 'Ulku' (customs duty). Such remuneration has to be classified as administrative expense.

.... poruḷ kākkum
Tollicait toḻil mākkaḷ (Paṭṭiṉappālai 120-21)

6.1.3. Expenditure on Economic Activity

Agriculture was the main occupation of the people in ancient Tamilnadu. To raise the agricultural output the king-especially the Chōḻa and Chēra kings constructed dams and tanks. Chōḻa king Karikālaṉ raised the banks of the river Kāviri and consturcted the Grand Anicut (which still speaks of the irrigation facility and enginerring skill of that time). Karikālaṉ destroyed the forests and developed cities and thus facilitated urbanisation in Pukār apart from Uṟaiyūr.

Kāṭu koṉṟu nāṭākki (Paṭṭiṉa 283)

Kings also levelled roads connecting important cities of the state and developed sea-ports.

6.1.4. Expenditure on Social Activities

Among the social security measures, mention should be made of the facts, that the kings constructed resthouses and charitable choultries. Expenditure on education and religious organisation and cancellation of taxes during natural calamities are also to be included. The most important among these, is that the kings patronised the poets and artists. There are separate idylls which speak of the liberal donations given by the kings to the poets, bards and artists in the form of money,

cloth, chariot, elephants, food, gold ornaments etc., One king was ready to give his head to a poet to make him earn money and another one donated a chariot to a jasmine creeper. Pandyan kings patronised the Academy of the poets called as Sangam.

6.2 Principle of Public Expenditure

All state expenses were incurred in accordance with the principles of justice and ethics. The main aim was promotion of the welfare of the people. This is comparable with the modern principle of maximum social advantage. The priciple says that the state should collect revenue and spend it so as to maximise the welfare of the people. Hence it may be stated that without knowing this principle, kings put into practice the principle of maximum social advantage in those days.

7. Fiscal Administration

At present, the Government has various departments and officials within each department to administer its fiscal activities. In those days, Tamil nadu had a better system of political and revenue administration. To collect tax, officials called as 'Puravu Vari Tiṇai Kaḷattar' were appointed. The head of these officials was called as 'Tiṇaikaḷa Nāyakam'. The body which administered tax revenue, was called as 'Puravu Vari Tiṇaikaḷam' (similar to Board of Revenue today).

Every action had moral sanction in those days. As moral ideology was behind every activity, tax was not collected from the producers of toddy and also from prostitutes as they were considered immoral.

Conclusion

To sum up, it may be stated that most of the modern concepts of fiscal economics were already put into practice in Tamilnadu as early as C 300 A.D. This should be brought to lime light and be included in the study of history of Indian economic thought.

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AGRICULTURAL ECONOMICS OF SANGAM AGE

B. Balamurugan

An attempt is made here, to present briefly the Agricultural economics of Sangam age with the help of Sangam literature. Agricultural Economics may be defined as the art, the science and business of producing crops and rearing livestock for economic purposes. The term includes science of crop and animal husbandary, horticulture, dairy, forestry, fishing etc. India is primarily an agricultural country from time immemorial. Most of the people in rural areas depend on agriculture for their livelihood in general and in Tamilnadu in particular. Economics of ancient India means agricultural economics. Agriculture is a basic and important occupation as it provides not only food stuffs but also essential raw materials for industries. Agriculture was the back bone of economy in the Sangam age - it is so till today.

Heritage (marapu) means ancient methods passed from one generation to another generation. Vēḷāṇmai means agriculture in Tamil. We find the word vēḷāṇmai in Tolkāppiyam the pre-Sangam Tamil Grammar work. Sangam literature has references on vēḷāṇmai in number of places. The terms vēḷāḷar, uḻavar and kaṭaiyar refer to agricultural labourers. Land owners were called as 'vēḷir'.

Different types of agricultural operations carried out during that time have been explained in Sangam literature. There are references, about frequent tillage, deep ploughing (āḻa uḻavu), combined tillage and ploughing; transplanting paddy; the care with which weeding was carried out and use of bulls and buffaloes for ploughing. Tilling the soil with plough (nāñcil) was known.

perunel palpakaṭṭu erumai uḻavē (Naṟ. 60-2)

They planted paddy.

nīruṟu ceṟuviṉ nāṟumuṭi aḻutta (Naṟ. 60-7)

In Sangam age they irrigated the fields from the wells, lakes and rivers. They fetched water through the implements of ēṟṟam, āmpi and kiḻār. Weeding was done by women folk only. Harvesting was done by kūrvāḷ.

Cennel arinar kūrvāḷ puṇṇuṟa (Naṟ. 275-1)

Paddy was preserved in paddy cages (neṟ, kūṭu). It was known as 'tokukūtu' in Akanāṉūṟu. Land measurement was known as mā, cey, vēli in Puṟanāṉūṟu.

kāy nellaṟuttuk kavaḷaṅ koḷiṉē
mānirai villatum paṉṉāṭ kākum
Nūṟucey āyiṉum tamittuppukku uṇiṉē
vāypuku vataṉiṉum kāl peritu keṭukkum (Puṟam 184.1-4)

vēli āyiram viḷaika niṉ vayalē (Puṟam. 391-21)

Crops

The whole geographical area of Tamilnadu was divided into four categories such as Kuṟiñci (hill area), Mullai (forest area), Marutam (field and plains) and Neytal (coastal area). Depending upon the climatic, geographical and soil conditions, different types of crops were raised. From Sangam literature one can infer that paddy, black gram and sugar cane were raised in Marutam region; Millet and ragi in Kuṟiñci; gingelly (eḷ) in Mullai and coconut in Neytal region. Apart from these region-specific crops, cotton, horse gram, iñci, mañcaḷ were also produced. From Akanāṉūṟu, Puṟanāṉūṟu, Maturaikkāñci, Porunarāṟṟuppaṭai, Patiṟṟuppattu, Naṟṟiṇai etc., one can identify different types of paddy such as cennel, veṇṇel, cālinel, mutantainel, aivaṉam, tōṇainel, kuḷanel, tōppinel, mulrikilnel. Sugar cane is referred to as 'karumpu' and coconut as 'teṅku'.

oliteṅkiṉ imiḻmarutiṉ (Patiṟ 13.7)

tāḻtāḻait taṉ taṉṭalai (Porun. 181)

Karumpivaṉ tantāṉ perupirai katāya (Puṟam. 392:20-21)

This implies that people would have realised the importance of cash crops as early as Sangam age (300 BC - 300 AD).

Fruits

Mango, jack, banana, black plum (nāval), goose berry (nelli) and wood apple (viḷā) were cultivated in those days.

Vegetables and Greens

Vegetables like pīrkku, curai, veḷḷari, pākal, muruṅkai, cēppaṅ kiḻaṅku, vaḷḷikkiḻaṅku, kūvai, kavalai were cultivated in those days.

ivarkaṭip pīram	Aiṅk 464.2
curaiyivar	Akam 287.5
veḷḷari	Puṟam 346.6
paḻaṉap pākal	Naṟ. 180.1
neṭuṅkāl muruṅkai	Akam 53.4
mutal cēmpiṉ	Paṭṭiṉap 19
vaḷḷikkiḻaṅku	Puṟam 109.6
mūrōṭu kuḻi iyaṉa kūvai	Malaipaṭu. 137
kavalai	Maturaikkāñci 242

In Sangam different types of greens such as kuppaikkīrai, vaḷḷaikkīrai and vēḷaik kīrai were cultivated and referred in Puṟanāṉūṟu and Akanaṉūṟu.

Other Useful Trees

Hill area crops like aricanut and pepper (Kamuku, miḷaku) were cultivated.

Akil, acōku, atti, āciṉi, āl,
ikaṇai, iravam, iruppai, ilavam, uḻuñcil

karantai, karuṅkāli, kuruntam, kōṅku
kon̲r̲ai, ceṇpakam, cantan̲am and curapun̲n̲ai

these trees were found in Sangam age.

Flowers

Atiral, anti, aralai, āvirai, īṅkai, erukku, kaṇaviram, kāntaḷ, kur̲iñci, cuval, tumpai, nanti, neruñci, vēḷam, piṭavam and pūḷai were some of the flowers mentioned in Sangam literature implying that these would have been nurtured in that period.

Creepers

The names of creepers and water plants such as aṭumpu, āmpal, uḷiñai, karuviḷai, kurukkatti, nar̲avam, neytal, pakan̲r̲ai, mucuṇṭai, vaḷḷai and ver̲r̲ilai were found in Sangam age.

Irrigation

Irrigation system is considered to be very important one in agriculture. In those days aruvi, cun̲ai, kān̲yār̲u, ār̲u, kēṇi, kūval and kuḷam were used for agricultural purposes. Karikāl Cōḷan̲ constructed the Grand Anaicut which stands as an evidence for the engineering skill of those days when cement was not known.

Animals

In agriculture bulls were most useful; erutu, pacu, erumai, āṭu and kōḷi were found in those days.

uḷutūr kālai	Pur̲am 322.1
vān̲pakaṭu	Pur̲am 307.9
āvum	Pur̲am 9.1 ·
nālāmēyum	Kur̲un. 104.3
taṭamaruppu erumai	Nar̲. 120.1,2
man̲r̲a erumai	Nar̲. 80-1
cennalap pur̲avin̲ pun̲mayirp par̲avai	Nar̲. 321.1
man̲aik kōḷi	Pur̲am 395,9,10

In Sangam age fishing and salt making were important occupations of people of Neytal region. Tamilnadu was surrounded by sea on three sides. Sangam literature gives names of fishes as ayirai, āral, kayal, keṇṭai, keṭiṟu, etc., vāval, vāḷai were found in tanks. Ayilai, koḷu, cuṟā, iṟā, paṉai were found in the sea. Valai, tūṇṭil, vicait tūṇṭil and eṟi uṟi were used to catch fishes and these were referred to in Akanāṉūṟu and Naṟṟiṇai. People of Neytal land exchanged fish for grains.

Barter System

Barter system was prevalent in the earliest stages of Man. Barter system means exchange of goods for goods. Money was not used in trade. Corn may be exchanged for ox hides, baskets for bananas and so on. In the barter system one has to give some kinds of goods to get some other kinds of goods.

As the society became more civilised and the complexities of economic organisation began to multiply, exchange through barter became more difficult and complicated. Growing inconveniences of barter in the complex economic societies necessitated the invention of money.

In Sangam age barter system was prevalent. They exchanged agricultural products for some other products required for them. In those days salt was considered very essential. Salt was exchanged for paddy.

nelliṉ nērē veṇkaḷ uppu (Akam 140.7)

nellum uppum nērē (Akam 390.8)

uppai māṟi veṇṇeṟ ṟiya (Kuṟun. 269.5)

In Kuṟiñci land they exchanged honey and kiḻaṅku (roots) for fish.

tēṉ neyyoṭu kiḻaṅku māṟiyōr
mīṉ neyyoṭu naravu maṟukavaum (Porun 214-15)

In Marutam land, they exchanged sugar cane and puffed rice (aval) for meat and toddy.

ñinkarumpōṭu aval vakuttōr
mā<u>n</u> ku<u>r</u>aiyoṭu matuma<u>r</u>ukavum (Porun 216-17)

In Neytal land, they exchanged fish for paddy.

mī<u>n</u> koṭuttu nelkuvai (Pu<u>r</u>am 343.1)

A deep review of the above verses of Sangam Literature would indicate that the barter system of exchange was followed in those days and that people of each region exchanged the surplus products of their region for the ones which they required and which could not be produced in their own region due to claimatic and geographical conditions. The very basic principle of commerce, which holds good even today was understood in those days and was practised in agricultural marketing of that time.

Transport

Transport and communications are very essential for the smooth working and the further development of the economic life of a country. It has been observed that if agriculture and industry are the body and the bones of a National organism, communication is its nerves and transport is its blood system. The importance of well developed means of transport and communication is all the greater in a country like India which is a sub continent in size. It has long distances to cover, a large number of under developed areas to develope and a huge population to be served. Efficient and cheap transport system is a key factor in economic development of an under developed country.

In Sangam age donkeys, bullock carts and boats (ōṭam) were used for internal trade. Donkeys were used to carry things.

puṇarppo<u>r</u>ai tāṅkiya vaṭuva<u>l</u>al nō<u>n</u>pu<u>r</u>at
taṇarc cevik ka<u>l</u>utaic cāttōṭu va<u>l</u>aṅkum (Perum. 79-80)

'Umaṇar' loaded salt in bullock carts and went from village to village and sold it.

na<u>r</u>avu vāy u<u>r</u>aikkum nākumutir nuṇavattu ......
nō<u>n</u> pakaṭṭu umaṇar o<u>l</u>ukaiyoṭu vanta (Ci<u>r</u>u. 51...55)

Some times they carried salt in the boat and exchanged salt for paddy.

veḷḷai uppiṉ koḷḷai cāṟṟi
nelloṭu vanta valvāyppakṟi (Paṭṭiṉa. 29-30)

So far we have briefly dealt with agricultural practices, crops, vegetables, plants, creepers, irrigation system, animals and fishing, with the help of Sangam literature.

In short Sangam Literature is a treasure of knowledge not only on agriculture and allied activities but also on various aspects of life. As agriculture continues to be an important occupation of a majority of people in India and as nearly half of national income of India comes from agriculture, it is necessary to find out its root and its growth since early days. Hence this attempt.



ECONOMY OF THE TAMILS IN SANGAM AGE

P. Balasubramanian

As in any country during any period of time, the economy of the Tamils in Sangam age was a mixed economy. There was affluence in the palaces of the ruling class and also the merchants, particularly in sea-ports like Kāvērippūmpaṭṭiṉam. The rest of the people lead a hand-to-mouth existence.

In Kuṟiñci or the hilly region the main crops were kanicum (tiṉai) and millet. When the grains were ripening, young girls used to go and guard the crops from marauding birds. This gave them an opportunity to meet their lovers. But when the harvest was over their movements were restricted to their houses and chances of meeting their lovers also dwindled. There are descriptions in the Sangam verses of their simple dwellings, mostly huts.

The pastoral people of the Mullai region also lived in simple huts. The same was the situation with the fishermen of the Neytal region. The eyiṉars of the Pālai region lived in thatched huts. People in the fertile Marutam could afford to live in houses buit of mud walls, white-washed brightly with lime. Houses of rich people were constructed in all splendour. Their palatial houses were called as 'nakar', 'vaḷa nakar' and 'kaṭiyuṭai viyanakar'. In cities like Kāvērippūmpaṭṭiṉam and Maturai there were houses with more than one story.

The food habits differed according to the status of the people and the food products available naturally in the corresponding regions. People in the Marutam region took rice as their staple food. Well-to-do people took superior rice called as 'irāca aṉṉam'. Different types of

vegetables, fruits, animal flesh - the way they were cooked and seasoned are described in the Sangam verses.

The eyiṉar of the Pālai region ate rice of an inferior variety grown in that region along with the flesh of the garden lizard (uṭumpuk kaṟi) and pork. The fishermen of Neytal region used to make gruel (kañci) with unpounded rice and take it along with fried fish.

Dress habits, also varied according to the status. The usual attire of the males consisted of two pieces of cloth, one below the waist and the other one covering the upper portion of the body. Warriors wore blue-coloured banian-like 'kaccu', which had flower design embroidered on them. Only a few people wore shirt like 'kañcukam'. The royal gold simiths wore such shirts and also envoys to royal courts and Greek (yavaṉa) body guards of the Pāṇḍya king.

Āyar of Mullai region wore only simple dress so also people of 'Neytal' and 'Pālai' regions. Women used to wear sarees around the waist. Their upper bodies were covered by flowers and 'toyyil' designs drawn with sandal-wood paste.

In cities like Maturai and Kāvērippūmpaṭṭiṉam very fine types of clothes were sold and were also worn by affluent people. Very thin clothes like the skins of snakes and inner lining of bamboo were also worn and also exported to foreign countries. Such super-fine varieties were called 'pūṅkaliṅkam'.

Professional Groups

The various regions were the habitats of various groups of people. The 'Kuṟavar' lived in the kuṟiñci region, the 'Āyar' in the Mullai region, 'Uḻavar' in the Marutam region, 'Paratavar' in the Neytal region and 'Eyiṉar' the hunters in the Pālai region. In the Marutam region, cities and sea-port towns lived four professional based classes of people - the 'Aracar' the ruling class, 'Antaṇar' the intellectual class, 'Vaṇikar' the business class and 'Vēḷāḷar the agricultural class. A few Brahmins from the northern part of the country also lived amidst them. These were the higher classes of people of the period and they controlled the economy

of the country. There were professional groups like 'taccar' the carpenters, 'kollars' the smiths - blacksmiths and goldsmiths, 'kuyavars' the potters, 'vaṇṇār' the washermen, 'necavāḷar' the weavers, 'umaṇar' the salt merchants who produced salt from the sea-water and sold them in the interior region using barter-trade system, 'Pa̱raiyar' and 'tuṭiyars' the drum beaters, Pāṇar the musicians, 'Vēṭṭuvar' the hunters, 'Kaṇiyar' the astrologers, 'Parattaiyar' the courtesans etc.,

The Sangam literature bears ample evidence about the workmenship of these artisans and artists and also about their economic and social status in the Tamil society of the period.

For instance Pu̱ranā̱nū̱ru, verse 87 bears testimony to the carpenters who could make eight chariots in a day.

The carpenters also made sturdy carts for transporting goods across the country. They also constructed big boats and ships for transporting goods across the seas. They also made strong wooden pillars and doors with artistic workmanship. Even the rafters had artistic designs chiselled in them. They also made artistic cots fit for use in royal palaces.

Similarly many detials are to be found about the workmanship of blacksmiths and goldsmiths. The Tamils were well-versed in the art of smelting iron, copper, silver and gold and also in preparing war-weapons, rims for cart-wheels, copper utensils, silver and gold ornaments, etc. The weavers used to weave coarse and also very fine and superfine cloth fit for export to foreign countries form cotton, silk (that was imported from china) and wool.

There are a few details about washermen and washerwomen. The washermen were also called as 'kā̱liyar' (Akam. 89). Washerwomen were called as 'pulaittiyar' (Akam. 387), which denoted the lower status of washermen and women, as 'pulaiyar' were considered to be of low status traditionally. There is also a reference to know about the poor living conditions of these people. There is a reference in verse 90 of Na̱ṟriṇai about pulaitti washing cloths.

Umanar, the nomadic salt-sellers of the Neytal region also lead a hand to mouth existence. They used to produce salt from sea-water and loading them in carts used to travel for long periods in interior lands and sell the salt according to barter-trade. Paddy was considered to be the standard in the barter-trade system. Their women used to drive the carts whereas the men will be walking by the side guiding the bullocks.

The Pāṇar, Paṟaiyar and Tuṭiyar were generally named as pulaiyar denoting their low economic and social status. But they were of ancient origin associated with war-efforts of the kings and assisted them during actual wars. There is no evidence that Pāṇar took physical part in the wars, but they used to sing the glories of the kings in ballad form with accompanying musical instruments.

Verse 360 of Puṟanāṉūṟu gives details about the profession of Pulaiyar who assisted in the disposal of dead-bodies in burning ghats and burial grounds.

Foreign Trade

The Tamils, even from first millennium B.C. were engaged in extensive maritime trade with several foreign countries. Egypt, Babylonia, Assyria and later Greece and Rome were some of the countries in the west with which they had trade contacts. In the east they had extensive trade with Java, Sumatra, Indonesia, Phillippines and China. Spices, incense, very fine cloth, sandalwood, Akil, ivory, gems like beryl - an aquamarine gem, coral and a kind of sapphire were some of the chief items of export. In return they imported varieties of intoxicating liquor, glasses, mirrors and also got gold coins in lieu of their goods as the balance of trade was highly in favour of the Tamils. They also imported silk and sugar from China. These details, with ample supporting evidences are given by P.T. Srinivasa Iyengar in his monumental pioneering work 'History of the Early Tamils' and improved upon by K.K. Pillay in His paper 'Maritime Trade of Early Tamil Nad' published in the proceedings of second International Tamil Conference held in 1968 in Madras.

Coins and Treasuries

R. Nagasamy has collected interesting facts about coins of Tamilnad used in Sangam period and also about treasuries etc. of the same period.

In this Sangam period gold and copper coins were in usage. The Cēra, Cōḻa and Pāṇḍya kings issued coins, though they were not extensively used by the common people. Roman gold coins bearing the figure of Augustus, Tiberius, Nero and other Roman rulers have been found in many places in Tamilnadu. Compared to them the coins of the native kings are to be found sparingly. The coins of Tamilnadu were called as Kācu or kāṇam. They did not bear the figures of the kings and chieftains. They are square in shape and bear figures like tiger, elephant, the sacred tree (amarartaru), Tirumaru (Shrivatsam) etc.,

According to Nagasamy, 120 kācu have been found from Cheṅgam. In one of the Kācu the following inscription is to be found: Tiṇṇaṉ etirntavaṉ cēntaṉ. The inscription is in ancient Tamiḻ script and the connotation is that it is the coin issued by the chieftain cēntaṉ who fought a battle with another chieftain Tiṇṇaṉ. From the script Nagarsamy opines that it must have been issued in second century A.D.

Several coins from Srilanka (Īḻam) have also been found in Tamilnadu. In many of the coins the seated figure of a person and on the reverse side the standing figure of a person are to be seen. These figures are not in natural but in artificial postures. These are called Īḻa Maṉitaṉ kācu meaning the coins of Īḻam man.

Tiruvaḷḷuvar defines the wealth of a king in the following manner:

உறுபொருளு முல்கு பொருளுந்தன் னொன்னார்த்
தெறுபொருளும் வேந்தன் பொருள் (குறள். 756)

Among the three mentioned in the Kuṟal, 'uṟuporuḷ' is defined as traditional dynasitc wealth or unclaimed wealth. The second one refers to taxes paid by the people, including customs duty and the last one refers to wealth acquired from enemy kings defeated in wars. As the king used this wealth for the welfare of his people it could be called

as 'nāṭṭuṭaimai' or wealth of the nation. The king used to entertain and give gifts to poets, musicians, dancers and other needy people. He used the wealth to fight wars with enemy kings and also spent it for the education of his people even outside Tamilnadu. According to Kuṟaḷ 755, the king should and used to accumulate wealth justly and with love and affection from his people. He never used force to collect taxes and by harming them.

The treasury where the king safeguarded his wealth was known as 'karuvūlam'. In Akanāṉūṟu 258, 372 and 60 and also in Naṟṟiṇai 379, there are references to 'Karuvūlam' in Pāḻi and Kuṭantai. They were well protected by fortified and well guarded buildings. It can be assumed that there must have been several such 'Karuvūlams' in various parts of Tamilnadu. There is also evidence from the above quoted verses that wealthy people of Pāḻi had deposited their savings in the king's 'Karuvūlam'. Nagasamy opines, that according to evidence available from Maturaikkāñci (202-203), in South Tamilnadu, Vāṇaṉ, a chieftain, had maintained a public treasury or some building like modern banks to deposit and safeguard his own immense wealth and that of wealthy people in his capital city.

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THE ECONOMIC STRUCTURE OF ANCIENT TAMIL COUNTRY

Sathyavathi Manuel

The Economic history of the Tamils is meaningful from the point of view of its private and public institutions - their structure and their functions rather than that of the fortunes of royalty and the rise and fall of kingdoms. The social institutions, their economic contributions, the social and economic organisations their functions in relation to the common man are the real economic history of any age rather than that of the fortunes of royalty and the rise and fall of kingdoms.

The foundation for the economic structure of Ancient Tamil country is provided by the South Indian Agrarian system. The evolution of the native Tamil institutions starting from the Sangam age, rule of Pallava period, the rule of Mūvēntars, the Vijayanagar polity in succession etc., have contributed many facets for the development of the agrarian system. The Sangam age was the herioc age during which the Sangam Tamils yielded place to an age of religious dominance marked by the rise and spread of Saiva and Vaishnava Bhakti movement which successfully battled against heresy. Sanskrit culture began to improvise Tamil life and thought in a more pronounced way. That was a period also during which a special type of local government at village level was reared and almost perfected. Further during the Sangam age many small kingdoms rose with imperial status. Literature is the sole source for the polity of the Sangam Tamils. The sources for a Medieval Tamil polity are many and capable of easy classification. They are the monuments, literature, foreign notice, coins, legends and epigraph. The epigraphical evidence insignifcant in the Sangam age is the mainstay of the historian working on medieval Tamil history and the epigraphical evidence very considerably

outweight the utility of the literature of the period. Accounts of foreign visitors to India like Hiuan Tsang of China, Abu Zaid of Arabia and particularly those of the Venetian Marco polo are very valuable. The coins of the period reflect the aesthetic taste and economic conditions of the people. Numismatics has a strictly limited range of utility. The legends and the symbols on the coins help us to relate them to the concerned dynasties or kings and to make shrewd inferences about contemporary conditions. Such data can be useful only for corroborative purpose.

Every society develops a political system which is the natural product of its antecedent history. In the case of medieval Tamil polity, the governmental system both resembled and differed from the earlier Sangam polity. Both were monarchies surrounded by Chieftainces which owed loyalty atleast apparently to these monarchies and were essentially autocratic without necessarily being tyrannical. A fundamental characteristic of Hindu society during those periods is that it is a totally integrated system which has internal divisions like religious, caste and economic order all of which become irrelevant to the totalitarian hold of a certain way of life. A society which has ultimate ideas like the need for a hierarchical caste system has necessarily to create myths to keep up the camouflage of divine sanction for such arrangements. The divinity of kingship is one such and the sanctity of caste is another. The king was by design to be the sole ruler of the world. Every king tried to bring the rest of the world under his umbrella by conquests which must not be called aggression. Every king had this kind of an arrangement and inter state conflicts of the king we know of in medieval Tamil history became common. The position of women had to be kept low if the domestic power structure and finally the social power structure were to be maintained at the desired conservative level. The kings were held responsible for everything good and bad that occured in and to society. So they were responsible really for much more than policing and judging and if they took on themselves more than these, there was neither rule nor tool to prevent it. In the medieval monarchical polity, the king's government was arbitrary and was motivated by self-interest. It was a

non-law making polity, the law having been crystallized in the dharma and being unalterable by human agency concepts like public right and public wrong were not known. For these are governed by the rule of law. An unscrupulous king could commit an iniquity and take shelters behind the dharma. So the breakdown of the dharma followed the violation of the social norms which dharma upheld. The Kaliṅkattupparaṇi says that there was a condition of socio-political chaos before Kulōttuṅka I's accession and that his rule restored the desired order. The text says the chaos was caused by 1. Vedas not being chanted and sacrifices being given up, 2. Manudharma turning topsy-turvy, 3. Inter-caste marriages and the social hierarchy being upset, 4. Temples remaining without worship, 5. Women losing chastity and, 6. In short all ways in which the prescribed way of life deteriorates.

Certain aspects of the king-cheiftain relationship are likely to create the impression that the medieval Tamil polity was feudal. The king-vassal relationship in each case adhoc. There were two kinds of vassal chief in the Tamil state. 1. The hereditary vassals and 2. The newly subjugated subordinate chieftains. "Such chieftains often found themselves in possession of considerable areas of territory allotted to them by the king, partly in recognition of their past services and partly with a view to enabling them to add a contingent of soldiers to the forces of the king in times of need."[1] U.P. Sinha aptly says "Feudalism cannot be an appropriate characterisation since the economic side of European Feudalism was not developed in the Indian organisation. It was more or less a tributary system."[2]

The Tamil royal families may have descended from ancient chiefs, fisherfolk or agricultural chiefs. The monarchs wanted to give themselves the halo of sacred ancestry. The Mahabharata says that three classes of persons may lay claim to sovereign authority. 1. Persons of royal blood, 2. heroes and 3. commanders of royal armies. Really persons of royal families, successful generals in war or crafty politicians at court

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1. K.A.N. Sastri, "The Cholas", p. 373.
2. G.P. Sinha, "Post-Gupta Polity", A.D. 500-750, p. 219.

are found to be the only persons succeeding to power. The first through the principle of legitimacy and the second and third by sheer personal ability. It is well known that in the Tamil governmental polity practically every dynasty ruling in historical times had proto historical origins. The Gangas, Kadambas, Pallavas, Cholas, Pandyas, Cheras etc, were all of ancient mythical origin. Thus it was easy for the kings to give themselves divine origins and for their subjects unquestioningly to accept them. The Tamils held their kings in reverence bordering on worship. In Tamil literary usage the term Koil stands for the palace as well as temple and 'Iṟai' is king as well as God.

The monarchs of the Tamil country had the fullest control of all the resources of the state. The most important source of royal revenue was land. The king had to devise ways and means of collecting sufficient finance to operate the public service and maintain himself and his expensive palace establishment. Apart from land, there were also other sources of revenue - excise and tolls. The defeated chieftains and enemies paid 'tiṟai' which augmented the royal treasury. Further the kings had other sources of revenue such as the booty in wars, the fines levied against all types of enemies and civil offences and income from the crown lands. The famous historian R. Gopalan lists eighteen varieties[3] of levies collected from villages by the Pallavas. Rajendra I levied one Kaḻañcu per vēli of land as war tax. Cattle breeders were taxed and they paid Iṭaipūṭci in Pallava times corresponding to the Iṭaippāṭṭam of Chola times. Maṉṟupāṭu was possibly a tax payable to maintain the community hall. Marco polo says, "Of all the non-agricultural sources of income, the royalty from pearl-fisheries which was one tenth of the produce was quite lucrative". There were horticultural taxes also eg. the tax on Kuvaḷaimalar. Whether this tax related to its cultivation or the sale of flowers is not known. It was known as Kuvaḷaikkāṇam in the Pallava period. A tax on sale of garlands (Kanni) was also levied. A levy on royal correspondence - a sort of postage or conveyance charge was collected from the emissaries of the village councils of the king.

3. R. Gopalan, "History of the Pallavas of Kanchi", p. 152.

Kattikāṇam was a tax on the manufacture of weapons. The sabha vinayagam was a special cess to meet extraordinary expenses levied and appropriated by the sabha and hence not a royal revenue. The village watchman collected certain taxes as remuneration for his duties at the rate of one kalam of paddy on every ma of wet land and one paṇam on the same area of dry land. There was also a devotee-tax which the local authorities levied on worshippers of Siva and Vishnu.

A community tax was also levied on Valaṅkai and Iṭaṅkai castes. The Brahmin priests were made to pay a professional tax called-Brahmna rasakhana. In Pallava times, Neṭumapaṟai was a tax on drummers. Since most taxes were paid in kind, it is reasonable to suppose that the taxes fell on commodities and services which might be personally useful to the king. Salt, sugar, cattle, grain-baskets, arecanut were taxed. From Pallava times onwards, taxes were collected from land owners other than Brahmins and temples in enjoyment of tax free gift of land. Varippoṉ was an occasional tax collected in the days of the Cholas. This tax was collected in terms of gold. Parantaka I levied an import of 3000 Kaḻañcus of gold on the assembly of Kumpakōṇam to pay to the Pandippadaiyar who were perhaps the distinguished core of the Chola army that conquered the Pandyan country. Tatavarman Sundara Pandya in A.D. 1251 levied a cess from the inhabitants of the neighbourhood of Coleroon for building a new flood embankment. Certain tolls and astroi were collected by local bodies and corporations with the permission of and subject to the control of king's government. At times local bodies functioning in judicial capacity levied fines from the litigants but paid the king a fixed contribution. Stray heads of cattle were impounded and a poundage was levied. Even death-duty was collected during that period. Revenue was based on fertility of the soil, nature of the crop and facilities for irrigation. Land revenue was paid either in cash or in grain or both.

Iṟai is a common term for land tax and vari a common term for other taxes. Land on which tax was in arrears and could not be collected was forfeit to the village community. Iṟaiyili was tax-fee land. Land was classified into many categories. Land owned by individuals holding pattas confirmed absolutely in their favour-Vellanvakai. Tivita was an

annuity of land. Gifted land was the third category. Land assessment varied with different crops. In the days of Rajaraja I, the assessment was 100 kalams of paddy per vēli. There are a few indications as to the assessment of land revenue. An inscription of Sundara Pandya says that the Kaṭamai on some temple lands was fixed at 3 kalams on each ma of land or half of what prevailed among other Devadana lands and for purpose of assessment crops of full field alone were taken into consideration.

The village administrative system of the Pallavas constituted the nucleus of the Chola revenue administrative system. There were two distinct kinds of officers - one to maintain records and another to collect revenue. These revenue officials regulated receipts and expenditure of public funds in villages, temples etc., inspected temple accounts to prevent or detect misappropriations, attested public documents, bought lands from village assemblies in public interest and exercised limited magisterial powers for the punishment of tax defaulters.

The economy of the Sangam age had been marked by a prosperous foreign trade which was possible by the availability of raw materials in which the Tamils had a monopoly and in the manufacture of which they had a tradition of special skills. The economy in the medieval period continued to be peasant-centres. Wars played a more important role in medieval Tamil polity and in fact became integral to the economy. The defeated country yielded after wars to the victorious, consumer goods and services in the shape of captured personnel who were enslaved. So it was an economy basically sustained by agriculture, strengthened by foreign trade to Malaysia, Indonesia, Burma, Ceylon and China and boosted intermittantly by successful wars. An important feature of such an economy was that prosperity and poverty tended to be localised. The medieval Tamil country enjoyed a prosperity which was ultimately equal to that of the agricultural. A great many agriculturists were either tillers or small land-holders and owners of tax free holdings. The rich royal court ensured prosperity for the courtiers, the officials, the generals

and perhaps the more successful merchants. The temple had an economic complex integrated into the larger economy. The temple employed persons, extracted service owned prosperity, lent money and functioned as a band. The temple had its economic foot rather firmly planted. It had a social projection alongside its religious one.

The ultimate picture which emerges is one of extreme opulence in the royal court and extreme poverty in the countryside especially among the landless. There is no period in the history of the Tamil country which is not associated with famine conditions in one or other of its parts. The general causes of famines in the Tamil country were continued drought, excessive rains, flood and possibly destruction of crops by pests or wanton revenge. Periyapurāṇam mentions a famine in the days of Appar and Sambandar. The temple authorities issued gold coins to the poor by way of relief. The teaming millions were engaged in agriculture and were exposed to all the vicissitudes of recurring famines. It was a society marked by intense religious feeling, rank materials and a fairly high level of intellectual endeavour.

Ownership of land was by and large the largest source of social and economic power in that dominantly agricultural polity. Land was held under a variety of tenures. 1. Private role ownership, 2. Joint tenure, 3. Special tenure like service and tax free. 4. Lease-hold. Lands could be alienated on sale, mortgage or lease and the right of collecting taxes on land belonged to the king.

Irrigation tanks were constructed partly by the state and partly by individual benefaction. There was a well knit system of canals which supplied water to the fields. In the reign of Kulottunga II some lands damaged by Kaviri floods were reclaimed. The foundations of the granary of South India were then laid thus ensuring a good system of irrigation and regular cultivation. Canals from rivers were supplemented by irrigation tanks and wells. Even the tanks had to be saved from storm water. The sabhas arranged for the removal of mud and silt from the beds of lakes by boatmen engaged for that purpose who used the mud from the lake to put up the bund.

The merchants of medieval Tamilnadu organised themselves into guilds and were affiliated to similar associations in other parts of India. These merchant associations traded in different articles were exempted from certain taxes and enjoyed honours and privileges. The medieval guilds were both craft and merchant. The craft guilds were professional associations in which caste and heredity played an influential role which gave these guilds an identity apart from their profession.

Trade was both inland and overseas. Inland trade was mostly by barter. They exchanged goods for corn. Salt and venison were exchanged for paddy. The practice of postponing sales awaiting a price rise seems to parallel the operation of 'bulls' in the economic market which indicates speculative economy quite natural for those times.

The Pallava and Chola kings exchanged envoys with the Chinese emperors for the purpose of improving their trade. Pearls, conch, coconut, fine cloth, cotton, silk were important exports. Korkai was famous for pearl diving. The Pandyan king derived a huge income by way of royalty in pearl trade. Ivory, betelnuts, cardamon, cotton, sandalwood, pepper and the like continued to be exported from Chera country. There are numerous references to harbours, ships, navy mariners and fishermen and to precious commodities like pearls, coral and conch.

Marco polo mentions about horse trade. According to him, the horse trade at Kāyal was quite important and much of the Pandyan royal revenue was spent on the import of horses. He further testifies that it was in the port of Kāyal that the horses arrived from overseas. The tax on horse trade was a source of considerable revenue to the king.

The commercial economy of the urban centres required not only a system of currency and coinage but also weight and measures. Vira Pandya devoted himself to the regulation of weight and measures in his country. The people knew linear as well as cubic measures and had balances to weigh articles against standard weight as also against other substances. They had to know the weight of gold, measure cloth and the volume of liquid. The kings took special delight in naming even the

weights and measures after themselves or after the Gods they worshipped.

The manufacturing industry was usually confined to spinning, weaving, carpentry, blacksmity, goldsmithy, sugarcane, salt and oil. The king has to accord his permission to manufacture particular items of goods.

Transport was a problem. Roads within urban limit were maintained by local authorities. Trunk roads were not officially the concern of anybody but were maintained by their users - the traders and pilgrims. The traders moved from one trade centre to another round the year but when the trade began to prosper, the state came forward to profit by the traffic. Store houses and light houses were provided in busy ports and other periodical mobile markets grew in all places. Every village had a market place where people bought and sold. Barter was still the dominant mode of transaction. Coinage was known and used but mostly in respect of foreign trade and wholesale trade locally. Entrance to a market was obtained on payment of a fee called 'Aṅkāṭikkūli'.

Thus historical studies of the ancient Tamil country bring to light the concept of 'peasant- society' which has provided the basic wealth and manpower for sustained civlized institutions in later periods.



BARTER SYSTEM IN ANCIENT TAMILNADU

R.M. Sundaram & V. Mohanasundaram

Tamilnadu was one of the centres for trade, both inland and foreign, in ancient times. Sangam poets and Roman writers furnish substantial evidences regarding the trade and commerce of ancient Tamils. Articles of merchandise from China and South-East Asia were exchanged in Kāvērippumpaṭṭiṉam (Pukār) Muciṟi and other harbours in Tamilnadu for the goods from Arabia and Roman Empire. Paṭṭiṉappālai gives a list of countries and their goods heaped in the store houses of the ancient port of Pukār. Tamilnadu had good market in many countries for its pepper, pearl, ivory, clothes and so on and so forth. This trade was carried out by Tamils through barter system followed by currency system.

Dictionary of Economics and commerce defines trade as follows:

"Trade now generally taken to mean the buying and selling of goods, though formerly trade took place by barter....."

From this we can understand that at an early stage buying and selling was made through barter system. In other words, the trade was previously practised only through barter system, which means "a form of trading in which goods are exchanged directly for other goods without the use of money as an intermediary".

It seems that before the invention of money people exchanged their surplus commodities, generally essential for life, for other commodities. For example, paddy was exchanged for fish and salt and meat for milk and fish for grains.

Sangam literature has many references to barter system practised by Tamils of Sangam age. A shephered exchanged milk for rice and raghee which were collectively known as "Kūḻ" (Kuṟ. 221). A cowherdess bartered buttermilk for grains (Perumpāṇ. 155-163).

Hunters got paddy in exchange of ḍeer's meat (Puṟam 33), toddy for ivory (Akam. 61) and toddy and fish for honey and tubers (Porunar 214-17). Fisher-folk bartered fish or pearls for foodgrains or toddy (Aiṅkuṟ. 47, 48, 49; Akam 296). It is also stated that Umaṇar (salt manufacturer) sold salt for paddy (Naṟ. 183). Peasants got deer's meat and toddy in exchange of sugar-cane and rice-flakes (Porunar. 214-217).

The above listing gives us a clear picture of the commodities and the consumers involved in the barter system practised in ancient Tamilnadu.

Commodities	:	Milk, butter milk, curd, honey, tuber, deer's meat, ivory, fish, pearl, salt, flowers exchanged for paddy and other foodgrains and toddy.
Consumers	:	Shepherd, fisher folk, peasants, hunters, i.e., people from all regions of Tamil nadu, Mullai (Forest), Neytal (Coastal), Marutam (Riverine), Kuṟiñci (Hills) and Pālai (Arid land).

The commodities mostly exchanged were paddy and other food-grains and toddy. References are scant regarding the selling of paddy for other goods. Even the peasant-folk gave sugarcane and rice-flakes for toddy and fish, but not paddy. From this we can infer that paddy had much more importance than other articles. The other equally important items were salt and fish whioh were exchanged for paddy in equal measurements.

"Nelliṉ nērē veṇkal uppu" (Akam. 140, 390)

A basket full of fish was exchanged for a basketful of paddy (Aiṅk. 47).

It is interesting to note that during the Chola period paddy was taken as standard of value for fixing the prices of various commodities.

Kenneth R. Hall observes : "It is significant that most of the price lists examined fix the prices of the various commodities in terms of paddy and not in cash, attesting that rice was the standard of value and perhaps also the medium of exchange in small transactions within the local market." (Hall, page, 119)

According to another inscription commodities like pepper, ghee and areca-nuts were priced in paddy equivalents whereas precious articles like cardamom seeds, campaka buds, camphor were given a cash value.

Cardamom seeds of 1 kuṟuṇi and 4 nāḻi got a price of 1 kācu of gold, and pepper measruing 1 āḻākku and 1$^{3}/_{4}$ ceviṭu was priced at 5 nāḻi and 1 āḻākku of paddy. Salt of 1 uḻakku and 1 āḻākku was exchanged for 1 uḻakku and 1 āḻākku of paddy (ibid. 119-120).

Regarding the measurement of other commodities in terms of paddy no clear reference is available in Sangam literature. Noṭai and vilai (Akam 60, Akam 320) are the terms used in the sense of "price".

The people engaged in trade used assess, bulls, bullock-carts and boats to carry their commodities. (Akam 89, Aiṅku. 47). The inland traders had their own guards to protect them and their goods from the robber. They paid customs duty on certain points (Perumpāṇ. 77-82).

In passage of time the amounts and varieties of goods which had to be exchanged increased many fold. This gave room for difficulties and complications as it was becoming harder to match the commodities to be exchanged. Generally for an exchange of commodities to take place there had to be a double co-incidence of wants. For example, the shepherd may be in need of food grains; he may have a surplus of milk to be exchanged for grains from the farmer. But, the farmer who has a surplus of grains may not be in need of milk. The farmer may instead be in need of a plough-share. In this case, the shepherd cannot have the exchange he desired. The only means left to the shepherd to obtain grains from the farmer is first to find out the blacksmith who has a plough-share and who wants milk in exchange for it; if he succeeds in getting a plough-share, then the shepherd could get it exchanged for

foodgrains from the farmer. This process involves two rounds of exchange-transactions. These two rounds of transaction take a lot of time and effort. If the transaction involves many such rounds of exchange, then one can easily imagine the enormous amount of time and efforts to be spent in completing the process of transactions.

To overcome the enormous difficulties experienced in barter system, a fast progressing society invented a common medium of exchange to conduct all transactions without hindrance. For this common medium of exchange people of different countries chose different commodities. Most of the chosen commodities were major products of the area or available there in large quantity or very rare and superior in nature.

The following is the Table of countries and their common Exchange commodities:

Country	**Common Exchange Commodity**
Greece	Bull
African coastal countries	Cowrie shells
Nepal	Tea leaves
Japan	Rice
* African Tribal community	Knives

As we mentioned above, during the Chola period paddy was given the status of the common exchange commodity.

This common exchange commodity was accepted by all people involved in this type of transactions.

By making use of this common exchange commodity as medium of exchange any one could buy or sell any commodity.

This common exchange commodity that eased out the difficulty in finding a double co-incidence of wants is also known as commodity money.

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* In African tribal community to buy a beautiful wife a large number of knives had to be given in exchnage.

This commodity money is also used as a measure of value to determine the value of other commodities in terms of it.

This mode of transactions, i.e., the common exchange commodities or commodity money has also some short coming. For instance, some of the commodities used as money were bulky and difficult to carry from place to place as in the case of bulls and sheep. In addition, there arose the difficulty of dividing the commodity money as and when necessity arose for exchange in small quantities. If, say a bull is considered to be equal in value for four bags of wheat, and if some one wants to buy only one bag of wheat, in that case he will have to pay one-quarter of a bull as the price for a bag of wheat. How can we divide a bull into four quarters unless we kill the animal. This created problems. In the case of tea-leaves, rice, salt etc. which are also used as commodity money, there is the difficulty of storing them in good condition for a long duration. They may be affected by natural calamities, when kept in store for long.

In case of animals like bulls, sheep and goats, another problem arises. With the passage of time, these animals became old and died and therefore lost their value.

There was no clear information about the use of common exchange commodity in ancient Tamilnadu. Right from Sangam age, it seems, that our ancestors have practised both barter and currency systems, the latter mainly for foreign trade.

In order to over come the problematic aspects which were experienced in commodity money the society was induced to invent a substitute for commodity money which could be used to accurately measure the value of all other commodities.

That substitute is nothing but money (currency) which has the following four features:

1. Medium of exchange accepted by all in the settlement of transactions.

2. Measure of value to determine the values of all other things (except the value of human being).
3. Standard of deferred payments in facilitating exchanges between present and future payments.
4. Store of value without fear of loss of value with time.

Our ancestors used money (kācu) from early times and also practised barter system for both domestic and foreign trade. In foreign trade specially with Rome and Greece, Tamils had money transactions. For example, pepper was sold for gold coins of Rome (Puram. 243)

"Yavanar tanta vinaimānnan kalam
Ponnoṭu vantu kariyoṭu peyarum" (Akam. 149)

(Ships from Rome came with gold and returned with pepper).

The Roman coins found in Tamilnadu bear witness to the foreign trade of Tamils. Women-folk in Tamilnadu pierced the coins to be used as ornaments and charms (Puram 353, Akam 75). The recently discovered coins of Sangam period, two in number, and a piece of broken pot in Rome will be taken as a confirmative evidence for the trade and commerce carried out by Romans and Tamils of ancient period.

The barter-system, though very old, is still in practice along with the currency system. To cite an example, in Thanjavur area, Agriculture-labourers who are getting paddy as their wage, exchange it for grocery and other home needs.

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APPLICATION OF PRUDENT MARKETING BY EARLY TAMILS

Hubert

Marketing in modern terms means spinal support for trade and any minor deliberations would paralyse the entire system. Before we set in foot to this avenue let us look into the history from different sectors how the trade has grown from primitive level to modern standards.

Historical Background of Trade

The primitive peoples commonly are thought to have self sufficient subsistence economies. Trade in the sense of a regular series of acts of exchange frequently is reported even among those who live by hunting and collecting. However land was not regarded as property transferable. Conventional usage implies that trade arises through interest in comparative material advantages, each party gaining concretely. In primitive communities, although the element of material gain is usually present, it tends to be difficult to isolate, being mingled with interest in status (or) in creating, maintaining or symbolising ties between social groups.

General Modes of Selling Methods in Earlier Times Around the World

Silent Trade

A most spectacular mode may be described as silent trade, dumb barter, or depot trade. Generally, one party went to a customary spot, laid down goods, and withdrew at a distance, giving a signal (a call or a gong stroke). Another then came to place a second set of

articles and retreated in turn. The first party then came back, removing the newly deposited goods or allowing them to remain until satisfactory additions were made. The second party then took the original wares to conclude the transaction.

Conducted without audible communication (beyond the customary signal), silent trade is a specialised form of barter. Although silent trade obviously functioned to secure economic benefits for shy people fearful of foreign contact, it also rested on some mutual confidence.

Ceremonial Exchange

Trade may take the form of ceremonial gift and counter gift. Every gift required a return gift, the initial recipient being bound by a strict code of reciprocity that require him, as he valued his reputation, to make adequate repayment. This concept of equivalence ran through all transactions. The recipient often tried to give back an object of greater value to enhance his prestige. Even when exchange was primarily utilitarian (e.g for food) efforts to maintain reputation by being liberal mingled with those to gain economic advantage.

The trading partner was a social ally as well as an economic reciprocal serving alternately as host and guest.

Barter

Involving direct transfer of goods against goods, barter implies broad agreement as to rates of exchange, with the possibility of haggling. Barter may coexist with ceremonial exchange that is reserved for commodities of greater social significance. Although held typical of trade among primitive peoples, barter occurs commonly only in large communities with some developed form of market.

Internal trade by Tamils

After analysing the selling methods let us now proceed to the Internal trade done earlier by Tamils and what were the special marketing techniques applied.

During Barter System

During the period of Barter System Tamils centred their trade connections only through material transfer which means there was perfect competition among each owner of such products claiming its need of the hour. In general competition in the market for any product means absence of monopolistic attitude on either buying and selling side. After reviewing the background the following steps were found to be the reasons of success.

Marketing points of Success during Barter System

1. **Application of Inducing the Buyer :** The early sellers open their buyers to the full extent, that the exchange or arrangement for exchange should take place immediately.
2. **Disguising into personality of Buyers :** What the sellers explained to their buyers (or) prospective exchanger, is that, need of such a material exchange is of greater importance from buyer's point of view.
3. **In order to survive - attack :** They did every bit to speak loud about their products - Despite all difficulties of exchange there was high flow of transactions.

Internal Trade

After the period of Barter System, the system of gold standard (or) money being came into existence; here we find that transit of goods in convoy by large group traders from one place to quite far off place is being found. Moreover there were different trade centre's at Kāvērippūmpaṭṭiṉam (Maruvūrppākkam of Pukār) and Maturai is being noted.

In such places there were shops for exclusive products and also sections segregating whole sale and retail selling. Above all we find that illumination were throughout; the day and the night never had a difference. It's also found that advertisement through musical and charming activities were done. We find the chain of restaurants and comfort hotels were well laid for travellers.

Points of Marketing success During Internal Trade Practices

1. The sellers made their buyer's mind unconscious, that decisions were just spontaneous.

2. Repetitive attacks : Some traders clearly planned their shop and price arrangements, as such when they sense a prospective buyer enters their zone. Usually sale closes within third move.

3. Advertising web covering for every section of people : It was found that effective advertisement was used to attract the buyers. There were musical attraction, dances, colorful gifts, scheme attractions. By discounts, bonus-sale, child-care and entertaining centres. Choice on different ranges.

4. Buyer's values were given high priority : The sellers treated every query with happiness, wisdom, self respect, mature love, sense of accomplishment and true-friendship where there was a strong bondage between buyer and seller.

5. Fascination of Marketing had more sales than nature of products : The attractive, colourful and appealing nature of marketing gave way for more turnover than the goods. We find that while explaining the product to realm of its beauty, there were even mass-selling taking place. Here it means more of people saying yes to it even though there may or may not be a need for such product.

6. The traders balanced human bond and business bond to the best of advantage : Recognising every query of a special individual was a unique approach by them. The buyers were treated as experts. Moreover this method developed a broad base for distribution of their products and services.

7. Consistency : They practiced highest standards of quality to gain the patronage and were confident and patient to bring that on their way.

Now we step on to the external trade by early Tamils. Before we analyse it let us now define what is an external trade.

Definition of External Trade

An export of capital, is a transfer of funds from one country to another. It need not entail a physical transfer of currency or of capital goods. What is transferred is commans over purchasing power, which residents of the capital exporting country put at the disposal of residents of the capital importing country. The funds may be provided by private individuals, companies, banks, governments, or international organisations and may be put at the disposal of any of these. The motives for such movements include: provision of temporary credit to finance international trade; speculation (i.e. the purchase or sale of a currency in anticipation of a rise or fall in its price); the earning of interest or dividends in excess of those which can be earned at home; support or influence of a foreign country or government; and the like. An important gain for the capital importing country is often commans over goods or services not otherwise available to it.

Various attempts have been made to categorise capital movements. They have been divided, for example, into stabilizing the destabilizing, depending upon whether they tend to restore or move away from equilibrium in a country's balance of payments; autonomous or induced, depending upon whether they initiate or follow changes in other items in a country's balance of payments, and normal or abnormal, depending upon whether they run from a capital-rich to a capital-poor country, or vice versa. The most usual division, however, is between short and long-term movements.

Methods of exporting vary according to the kind of goods, the laws and practices in the exporter's and the importer's market, the risk exporters are willing to bear and the expense they can afford for setting up and maintaining their own selling organisation abroad. In the course of time export techniques had to be adjusted to changes in technology and political and economic conditions.

After reading this definition you would agree with me on the saying of Tennyson's 'Come, my friends, it is not too late to seek a newer world to sail beyond the baths of all the western stars..... To

strive, to seek, to find and never to yield'. Same was the unflinching determination of Tamils in fields of exports. Its found from literature that there were external trade made, from Muciṟi, Pukār, Toṇṭi, Vañci, Mallai, Koṟkai, Kapāṭapuram, to countries like China, Rome, Arabia, Egypt, Babylon, Greece, Malaya etc., The products exported were pearls, peacock feathers, garments, furnitures, ivory products, royal ceremonial dresses, gems, etc., Now let us once again look into the point of success made by them.

POINT OF MARKETING SUCCESS BY EARLY TAMILS IN EXTERNAL TRADE

1. Appealing towards international Status

Though one could discern certain amount likes and dislikes on the consumer behaviour in the internal trade, it was rather unique to witness that early Tamil enhanced the cultural advantages and were able to market handicrafts which had greater demand to places like Rome, where Rome was considered to be in peak of fashionable excellence, to maintain that needs extra amount vision which only Tamils were able to capitalise. Moreover there are details that ivory products and other crafted materials were exported to Israel during times of Solomon. The history records that king Solomon was highly selective of choosing his consignment.

2. Cultural and Language Integrations

Tamils adapted and lived with different ethnic groups, they learned and lived according to their culture which was an added advantage on the ways to export trade. Moreover it gave way for the latest trend acceptable and need in their countries.

3. Tamils shifted the balance of payment to their advantage

We find that Tamils always exported their surplus and brought in gold. As of ancient to the modern standards gold is the only key to economic success. This was cleverly and timely transacted by the early Tamils.

4. Psychological prominence for major produce

It was found that lot of marketing thrust was given on major produce as if to appear before the international market that of rare availability. This psychological manupulation needs an extra skill by the Tamils (eg. pepper).

5. Repeated follow-ups

Tamils always visited their clients repeatedly which made them for sure of availability and need for supply in regular.

Conclusion

Herewith I have tabled the salient marketing tools adopted by the early Tamils which baffles the present economic system which usually takes a sharp up and down curves in the economic graphs. Now a great question which has to be answered by all of us. Why such a Tamil culture which was hailing in all its glory 'Gone with the wind? No!!! The time has come now every modern Tamil who has selected the path of business would add more such features in this way and restore the lost pride'.

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THE COASTAL & RIVER BASED URBAN CENTRES OF TAMILAKAM AND THEIR MARITIME TRADE OF CLASSICAL PERIOD

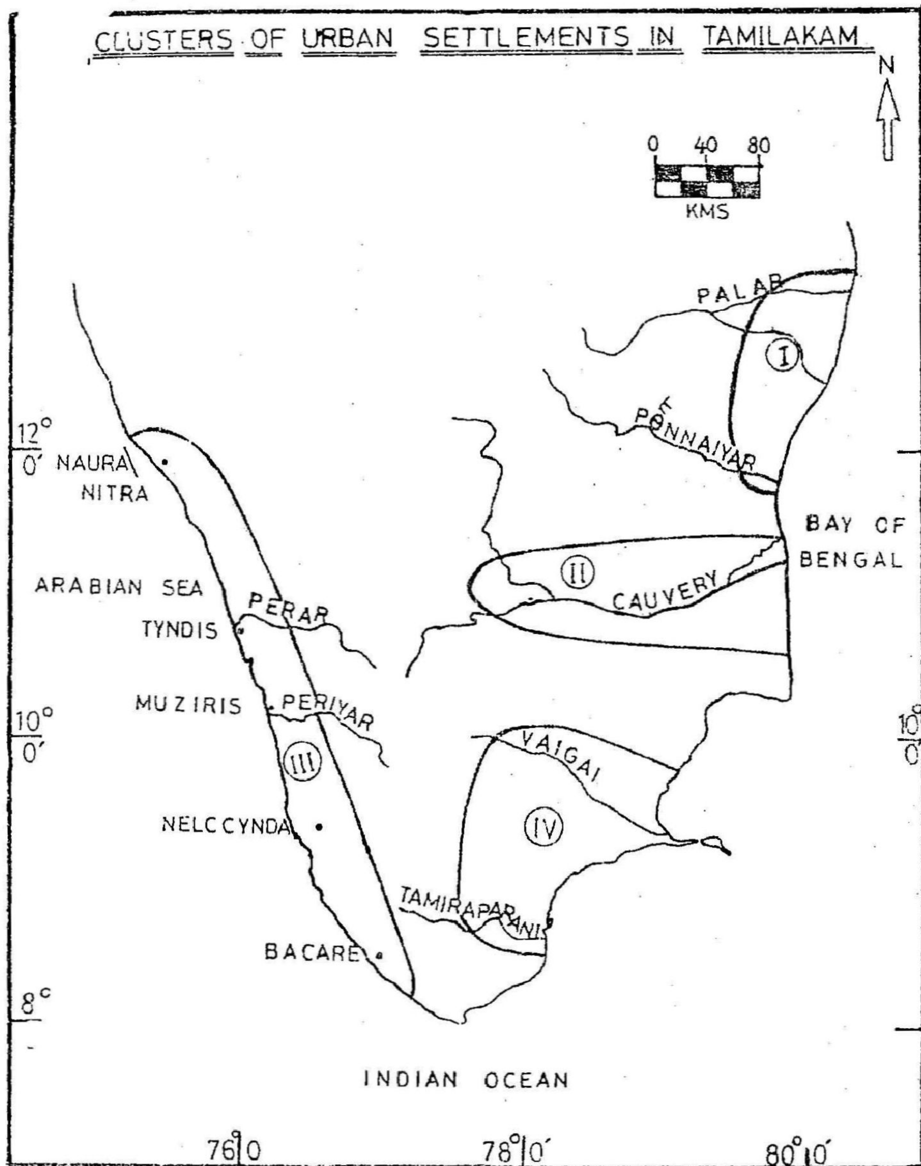
Aroma Glory Sam

The ancient literature, the archaeological explorations and excavations, the epigraphs and foreigners' accounts give an adequate information to study the early maritime activities of the Tamils. According to Tolkāppiyam, one of the earliest works, Tamilakam (Tamil country) has been divided into five regions namely Mullai, Marutam, Kuriñci, Pālai and Neytal. Among them Neytal is the maritime region consisting of sea and its nearby areas. The people of this region are called Neytal people. This region comprised of many seafaring and mercantile communities like Satuvar (சாத்துவார்), Chetty, Parathavar (பரதவர்) etc. Apart from this, the Sangam literature (3rd century B.C., - 4th Century A.D.,) like Akanāṉūṟu, Puṟanāṉūṟu, Paṭṭiṉappālai, epics like Cilappatikāram, Maṇimēkalai and Cīvakacintāmaṇi have given valuable accounts of Tamil's involvements in the field of maritime activities. They expose some names of marine vessels such as ampi, nāvāy (நாவாய்), vaṅkam (வங்கம்), paḵri, timil (திமில்), tōṇi, kalam etc., (G. Victor Rajamanickam and Y. Subbarayalau, 1988).

The foreign writings like Periplus of the Erythrian sea, and travellers like Ptolomy (140 A.D.), Plini (150 A.D.), Nikolo conti and Marcopolo of 13th century A.D., and others have left a brief account of the description on various ports of Tamilnadu, its nature of inland and

foreign sea trade. "Tiraikaṭal ōṭiyum tiraviyam tēṭu" is a famous proverb still prevailing in Tamilnadu: it clearly indicates the importance of going abroad in search of accumulating wealth. Ultimately, it brings out the fact that ancient Tamils have given priority to sea voyages and sea trade. The supremacy of the early Tamils, in sea voyage has also been confirmed from the Tamil inscriptions which have been collected from various places in China, Srilanka, Thailand etc., with the name of Tamil merchantile groups (Y. Subbarayalu 1983 and T.N. Subramanian 1978). The Tamil kings Rajaraja I, Rajendra I and Kulotunga I of the medieval period are found to have maintained naval force and established sovereign rights over many oceanic countries in Southeast Asia. A large number of the existing epigraphical records clearly depict the strength of their maritime power. The lines "Alai kaṭal naṭuvil pala kalam celuttiya" (one who has sailed many vessels in rough sea; South Indian Inscription: SII, XXVI, 1986) and "Kāntaḷūr cālai kalamaṟuttu aruḷiya" (who destroyed the ships at Kāntaḷūrcālai, SII, XXVI, 1986) are some of the Chola inscriptions that have ample evidences for the prosperity of sea faring of medieval Tamilnadu.

Under the Cholas, particularly during the time of Rajaraja I and his son Rajendra I the Buddhist merchants of Srivijaya kingdom of Indonesia had visited Tamilnadu and involved in trade and cultural activities. It is confirmed by the stone and copper plate records. (T.N. Ramachandran, 1965). The copper plates have revealed the permission granted by Rajaraja I to the Buddhist merchants to construct two viharas on the coast of Nākapaṭṭiṉam for them to have a place of worship. They have also thankfully named one of those viharas as Rajarajapperumpaḷḷi, after the name of the great Cōḻa king Rajaraja I. Another vihara popularly known as Cūṭāmaṇi varma vihara also had been built by Srimāṟavijayōttuṅkavarmaṉ (ஸ்ரீமாறவிஜயோத்துங்கவர்மன்) son of Sudamani Varman of the Sailendra (சைலேந்திரா) dynasty, king of Kataha (Kaṭāram - கடாரம்) and Srivijaya and dedicated it to the memory of his father.



From the above analysis one can infer that the ancient Tamil nadu must have maintained wide sea trade and cultural exchange through a number of popular ports. These ports were the ancient urban centres which flourished on the basis of their role as political, administrative,

manufacturing and trading activities. Urbanisation can be described as a process of change in the life of people brought about by changes in agriculture and technology, which led to complexity in the social sphere and emergence of political and religious institutions capable of organizing and integrating diverse social groups characterized by the presence of monumental structures and in some cases, though not in all, accompanied by the invention of writing and rise of cities.

On the basis of the sites mentioned in literature and those exposed by excavations the early historical urbanised sites are located mainly in the following areas:

1. Pālār - Peṇṇaiyār river basin along the coast.
2. Along the river Kāvēri and its tributary Amarāvati.
3. Along the Westcoast.
4. Two important sites on the Vaikai and one on the Tāmaraparaṇi.

The Pālār - Peṇṇaiyār river basin existed in the northern most part of Tamilakam and a cluster of habitats were located in the territories of the Vēḷirs (வேளிர், minor nobles - chieftains) and Tiṟaiyars. One of the habitats of this region Kāñcipuram is described in the Perumpāṇāṟṟuppaṭai as a "mūtūr" old city, full of tall buildings and fortified by high walls. Since Kāñci has been under continuous occupation, systematic archaeological digging is said to have been made impossible due to paucity of potential areas for digging. Kāñcipuram, situated on the river Vēkavati (வேகவதி), tributary of the Pālār, was an inland town and it was said to have had access to the sea through the port of Nirppeyar (நீர்ப்பெயர்) located at the mouth of the Pālār and is identified by R. Champakalakshmi to be Vasavasamudram and by Clarance Maloney to be Māmallapuram. Kāñci seems to have had human settlements atleast from the Ist century A.D. onwards as evident from the discovery of urn burial, ring wells and black & red wares. It can be deduced that Kāñci was a manufacturing urban centre as shell bangles have been profusely found in different stages of development from excavations at a locality, locally known as Pallavamēṭu. Procurement of

shell must not have been a problem as it had access to coastal areas through the port of Nirppeyar.

Nirppeyar is described in the poem Perumpāṉāṟṟuppaṭai as a port with a harbour, warehouses and high mansions. Vasavasamudram is today a coastal village situated about 11 miles south of Māmallapuram. The site seems to have been inhabited for a brief period of 75 years towards the 3rd - 4th century A.D., The excavated materials include 15 beads of quartz, agate, soap stone, glass and terracotta. These beads could have been imported from other centres along the Eastcoast like Arikkāmēṭu and Kāvēripaṭṭiṇam which were centres of bead manufacturing. Heaps of lime shell are also discovered at Vasavasamudram. It is suggested that they were possibly used for cleaning skins of animals as the Romans traded in hides which were exported from these sites. Further pieces of rouletted ware and amphora (Greek or Roman two-handled vessel) have also been found here bearing testimony to definite Roman contact and trade.

The most important centre in the Pālār - Peṇṇaiyār Basin is Arikkāmēṭu. It was said to be virai of the Sangam texts, supposedly a Vēḷir's strong hold and mentioned as poduca/poduka in Greeco Roman texts. Extensive excavations carried out at this site have brought to light remains of an Indo-Roman trading station. They have confirmed the literary evidence as provided by the early Tamil and Greeco-Roman texts to the extensive trade contacts between Tamilakam and the Roman world. This site could be taken as a typical site of an Indo-Roman trading station. The artifacts testifying to Roman contacts at Arikkāmēṭu site include rouletted and arrantine, sherds of amphora with many of the sherds preserving an internal incrustation which is found to contain resin. Besides objects of cultural value like fragments of a Roman lamp, two glass bowls and a gem bearing the head of Augustus in intaglio are collected. This gem was untrimmed and it is suggested that western craftsmen resided in Arikkāmēṭu. All this is indicative of a definite Roman contact and that Arikkāmēṭu was one of the regular trading stations on the coromandel coast. Apart from being a trading centre,

Arikkāmēṭu was a manufacturing centre for beads. This is evident from the presence of a number of unfinished beads and fragments of semi precious stones, besides, several pieces of obsidian and green jasper of crude glass. The glass slag at Arikkāmēṭu could have been imported from Rome or from Kāraikkāṭu (காரைக்காடு) and Naṭṭamēṭu (நட்ட மேடு) which were glass manufacturing centres. It is possible that these centres also produced the glass from the ports on the Westcoast, where it was imported. The beads found were of various types, like agate, carnelian, chaleodonic quartz, crystal line quartz including crystal and amethyst. Shell, bone, gold, terracotta and glass materials are also found.

Clarance Maloney is of the view that the part of Arikkāmēṭu was used by Romans to import Southeast Asian goods directly without utilizing intermediaries. According to R.E.M. Wheeler, Arikkāmēṭu was a regular trading station on the Coromandal coast where muslins must have been manufactured and exported to the west. Arikkāmēṭu's location at the mouth of the river Varākanati (வராகநதி) must have facilitated the transportation of commodities from the hinterland and it would have been connected with other ports on the Eastcoast through the sea.

A few cites like Kāraikkāṭu, Naṭṭamēṭu and Ceṅkamēṭu are situated in close proximity to Arikkāmēṭu. This reflects a network of internal communication between these sites and their inter-relationships in terms of trade of certain commodities like glass, bead, etc., Roman appendages like rouletted ware and amphorae have been found at these sites indicating contact with Rome.

On the east another port existed known as Cōpatma (சோபத்மா). It is mentioned as Sopatma in the Periplus and as Eyil (இயல், எயில்) in Ciṟupāṇāṟṟuppaṭai and may be identified with Marakkāṇam (மரக்காணம்). It was one of the ports of the Oy clan of the Vēḷir. This place Eyil is presented in the poems as a fortified town with a harbour. However archaeological excavation have not been conducted here and therefore not much discussion on this site is possible.

It may be concluded that Arikkāmēṭu, Kāraikkāṭu and Vasavasamudram were primarily Indo-Roman trading stations and were important for dyeing muslin and trade in hides. Others like Kāñcipuram and Naṭṭamēṭu were manufacturing centres of shell bangles and glass. Many of these sites were situated in close proximity to each other and thus facilitated contact between them and was perhaps an important element in the structure of the urban settlement. Vasavasamudram served as the outlet to the inland centre of Kāñcipuram. It can naturally be deduced that the social groups that inhabited these centres were specialised craftsmen like bead makers, glass manufacturers, masons (who were instrumental in constructing the structures like the warehouses and dyeing vats at Arikkāmēṭu), dyers besides merchants and traders. This point to the existence of some kind of social stratification in these centres. It proves that Arikkāmēṭu and possibly Kāñcipuram were big urban centres. The other centres though not very extensive, also played important roles as trading centres.

An evaluation of the urban centres in the Kāvēri basin reveal the sites located along the river Kāvēri and its tributary the Amarāvati were very fertile areas. One of these sites is Kāvērippaṭṭiṉam also called as Kāvērippūmpaṭṭaṉam; camera by Khaberis; and colliroon in the foreign texts. The Paṭṭiṉappālai describes this port in detail while Cilappatikāram contains numerous references to the buildings located in the city and its various quarters. The author of Periplus classified it as a 'market town' while Ptolemy elevated it to the status of an Emporium. Kāvērippaṭṭiṉam was strategically located at the hub of one of the significant communication networks. It's location at the mouth of the river Kāvēri meant substantial contact with a rich hinterland. Further, the transpeninsular route would have linked this port with other important centres and also connected it to the ports along the eastern coastline.

About 40 and odd sites have been excavated in and around Kāvērippaṭṭiṉam. Kāvērippaṭṭiṉam was important as a manufacturing centre of beads from different stones. Beads of different stones in

unfinished forms of manufacture have been found here. These stones seem to have been imported from the hilly tracts as these raw materials were not available at Kāvērippaṭṭiṉam. The strategic location of the port would have enabled the east for transportation of these raw materials. Earthern moulds with square sockets for the minting of coins have been excavated, thus indicating that Kāvērippaṭṭiṉam also seems to have been a minting centre for coins. Pukār as a market town is described in the Tamil texts which refer to the morning and evening markets held here.

Kāvērippaṭṭiṉam received an impetus due to trade with Rome. Roman contact at Kāvērippaṭṭiṉam however testified by the discovery of rouletted wares at Maṇikirāmam and Pallavaṉīsvaram. Maṇikirāmam was the name of a famous merchant guild of South India in later times. Therefore R. Champakalakshmi feels that probably in the urban complex of Kāvērippaṭṭiṉam there was an important colony of merchants which provided the background for the story of the Cilappatikāram. Kāvērippaṭṭiṉam was a trading port in which people from all countries resided. The general term used in literature denote all foreigners as Yavaṉar. It is necessary to note that no monuments of grandeur have been discovered at Kāvērippaṭṭiṉam. This could be due to the fact that a large part of Kāvērippaṭṭiṉam lies submerged under sea water, a fact attested by tradition and recent underwater archaeological excavation.

Of considerable importance in the Kāvēri basin is Uṟaiyūr which is today a part of Tiruccirāppaḷḷi. It was strategically located on the banks of the river Kāvēri and lay on the transpeninsular route and on the route connecting Kāvērippaṭṭiṉam and Maturai. Uṟaiyūr is referred to in literature as a fortified city. Uṟaiyūr as a manufacturing centre of textile is testified by the literary reference in the Periplus. Archaeological evidence also attest it by providing dyeing vat. Uṟaiyūr continues to be an important centre for textiles even today. Uṟaiyūr had its outlet to the sea through Kāvērippaṭṭiṉam. It is possible that Uṟaiyūr served as a redistributive centre whereby the luxury goods like pearls, gold etc., could have been transported from Pukār and distributed at Uṟaiyūr by

the Cōla king. The Roman ceramics, rouletted and arrentine wares discovered in Uraiyūr could have found their way at Uraiyūr by transportation via the Kāvēri from Pukār. Since Uraiyūr was a capital city, the population of the place must have comprised mainly of the king, his nobles and officials. However, other occupational groups like weavers, potters etc., must have also lived here.

Karūr or Vañci lay on the banks of the river Amarāvati a tributary of the Kāvēri. It's location on the transpeninsular route connecting the Eastcoast with the Westcoast through the Palakkad gap was of utmost significance. Though Karūr was geographically located in the Kāvēri basin it was a part of the Cēra territory. Karūr must have been a collecting centre for items of export from the non-agrarian tracts and therefore must have received impetus due to trade with Rome. It may be mentioned that Karūr had its outlet through the ports on the Westcoast namely Tyndis (திண்டிஸ்) and Muziris. It was from these ports that commodities like pepper, teak, pearls etc. were exported. A large number of Roman coins have been found at Karūr. Besides this at Karūr were found sherds of rouletted ware and a solitary sherd of arrentine ware. This is indicative of the active contact between Cēras and the West.

Another centre was Koṭumaṇal. It is mentioned in the Patirruppattu as Koṭumaṇam. This site is an important settlement even before the Roman contact. Explorations at Koṭumaṇal have yielded several hundred beads of various sizes made of moonstone, cat's eye, rock crystal, beryl, other stones and prismatic objects of rock crystal. Koṭumaṇal might have figured as an important centre for the manufacture of beads of precious stones. These precious stones must have been transported to the ports on the Westcoast through the transpeninsular route passing through Karūr and from these ports they were exported to Rome. Roman contact at this site is proved by the presence of rouletted and arrentine wares. However, the two centres, Karūr and Koṭumaṇal lay in the Cēra territory. But there were conflict between Cōlās and Cēras for the possession of the Koṅku plate and the Cōlas are said to have taken even the territories of the Ōy clan of the Vēḷir. Thus the Cōlās could control the economic activities of the region.

The Kāvēri basin urban centres had been active in the region even before the early historical period. Kāvērippaṭṭiṉam, Uṟaiyūr and Karūr were full fledged independent urban centres. The centres like Kāvērippaṭṭiṉam and Karūr apart from being political centres seemed to have received an impetus from Roman trade. At these places social differentiation must have existed between the upper strata comprising the kings, nobles and bards and other occupational groups. The centres were connected with each other through the river and were dependent on smaller ones for raw materials.

The urban development on the Westcoast includes Tyndis, Muziris, Naura (நௌரா), Nitra, Nelcynda/Melkynda and Bacare/Bakeri. There have been problems over identification of these sites. These centres are roughly identified in the following manner. Tyndis as Ponnani, Muziris as Cranganore (கொடுங்கல்லூர்), Naura/Nitra with Cannanore/ Mangalur and Bacare/Bakeri with Porkad/Varkkalai (வர்க்கலை) and Nelcynda has been identified to be a place very near modern Kottayam. Archaeological excavations have been conducted only at Muziris, identified as Cranganore (modern Kodungallur) but no remains dating to a period earlier than the 9th century A.D. have been discovered.

The features of these centres were different from those of the Kāvēri basin. The centres on the West coast were primarily trading ports from where commodities gathered from different areas were exported. Since excavations have not been conducted at all centres except Muziris, it seems very difficult to analyse all aspects of urban life of the regions.

On the rivers of Vaikai and Tāmaraparaṇi region of the Pāṇḍyaṉ kingdom was famous for two centres Maturai and Koṟkai. Maturai situated on the river Vaikai was an important centre of textiles. Maturai was infact the main producer of the textiles and the main capital of the Pandyas. Besides, it was a market town. The Maturaikkāñci describes the markets (morning and evening) in which articles like cotton, cloth, pearls, jewels, sandalwood, etc., were sold. Various craftsmen like weaver, jeweller, etc., were said to have resided in Maturai.

Korkai was located at the mouth of the Tāmaraparaṇi river. Its existence as a site before the period under study is indicated by the excavations of two urn burials. According to Sangam literary tradition Korkai was famous for its pearl fisheries. It is said to have had a famous harbour. In the texts it is described that the paratavar (பரதவர்) dived for pearls. Occurrence of pearl oysters at various levels during excavations confirms that Korkai was a centre of pearl trade. Korkai according to Maloney was the subsidiary capital of Pandyas. It served as the outlet for Maturai. Ptolemy describes Korkai as an emporium.

Maritime Trade

The Non-agricultural economic activities and the various trading contacts of the people with the outside world make particular places to grow and flourish as urban centres. The ancient and medieval period urbanisation of Tamilakam had its root to the extensive trade with foreign countries.

The major reason for this was the availability of those commodities which had a steady demand in foreign market. Pepper, ginger, rice, sandal wood, cardamum, cinnamon, turmeric, ivory, pearls, gems like beryl (diamond), corundum (raw materials of diamond), cotton fabrics, monkey, deers, peacocks, cheetahs, tigers and elephants were the articles which attracted the foreigners to look for in Tamilakam.

Possibly the most ancient foreign trade contact which Tamilakam had was with the ancient land of the Hebrews, the present Israel and Jordan, Lebanon and the Arabian countries. The contact with the Hebrews is roughly estimated as 1000 B.C., The Hebrew Bible, Torah mention 2 important objects imported from Tamilakam. 1. Kapin (monkey) and 2. Tukim (peacok). N. Subramanian (1980) has pointed out that kapin is kapi which is in Tamil kavi (monkey) and Tukim is that Tamil tōkai (the peacock); rice has its origin in the Nile Valley. Rice was also reexported to the Arab world. In Arabic, rice is known as arz which has been borrowed to Tamil as arici. The next important trading partner country was Greece. A lot of Greek vocabulary of Tamil names of many objects have been identified. The Greeks have Uruza for 'rice' from the Tamil 'arici'. The

English 'ginger' is derived from the latin 'Zingiber' which was derived from Zingiberis which is ultimately traced to Tamil iñcivēr. The Tamil word 'ciruttai' became 'Cheetah' in English. Sandal wood is derived directly from cantaṉam of Tamil.

Even before the Christian era, the Tamils were seafaring people, building their own naval craft and braving the breakers of the ocean. Later on, it is evident that the Roman Empire, witnessed the establishment and development of profitable trade with two great regions of the earth, the mediterranean countries and India during the first two centuries of the Christian era. It was a time when Alexendria had become the chief centre of East west trade and a meeting place of these centres. It was the Augustian age, the beginning of Roman imperialism in earnest, when wars subsided giving place to increased commercial and cultural activities.

The important items from the Yavana land to Tamilakam included the most costly wines. The expression, 'Yavaṉar, naṉkalam tāṅka, taṉkamaḻ tēṟal (Puṟam. 56.18) refers to wine:

"யவனர் நன்கலம் தாங்கத் *(தேறல் - தேன், கள்)*

தண் கமழ்தேறல்" *(தண் - குளிர்ந்த)*

Not only wine, sugar candy also is included in the imported item. In Cilappatikāram (iv, 35, 26) the sugar candy import is mentioned. Perumpāṇāṟṟupaṭai lines (316-318) refer to a particular lamp imported to Tamilakam from the Yavana land. Peculiarity of the lamp was the flame in it did not flicker but had a steady flame; and it was a novelty to the Tamils. These lamps were borne by doll like statues in their cupped palms (Neṭunalvāṭai 101, 103).

The exported items from Tamilakam to the Yavana land are also mentioned in the literature. Pepper in great quantities, fine pearls, ivory and silk cloth were also among the exported items. In Puṟanāṉūṟu (343) the exports from Muciṟi on the Westcoast are mentioned; the pepper coming from Kuṭṭanāṭu (குட்ட நாடு); mountain products like ivory were bartered for food. In Akanāṉūṟu also the same exported and imported items from Yavana land are mentioned.

Yavanar tanta vinaimā nankalam
ponnoṭu vantu kariyoṭu peyarum (Akam. 148.9-10)

In Maturai-k-kāñci, it is mentioned that large ships laden with "tamarind which was mixed up with jaggery and salt and dried mutton chops were brought and carried the large ornaments and horses tamed with difficulty to the Yavana land" (Maturai-k-kāñci lines 319-321).

Thus in the light of the above facts the urban centres of early Tamilakam had varied and extensive foreign trade. Some could be called predominently trade centres, some as political administrative centres, and some as manufacturing centres. However it must be stated that there was an overlap in the functioning of urban centres which catered to different needs. For example, an administrative centre could have also been an active trading centre. The textual and limited archaeological evidences help to designate Kāvērippaṭṭinam, Uraiyūr, Maturai, Karūr, Korkai and Arikkāmēṭu as full fledged urban centres. Some of the major centres like Karūr, Uraiyūr and Maturai were predominantly political centres while Uraiyūr and Maturai along with Korkai were manufacturing centres as well. Thus the region witnessed a process of urban growth clustered in four areas.

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3. Cirupāṇārruppaṭai.
4. Maturaikkāñci.
5. Narriṇai.
6. Neṭunalvāṭai.
7. Perumpāṇārruppaṭai.
8. Puranānūru

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EARLY MARITIME CONTACTS OF THE TAMIL COUNTRY

P. Shanmugam

The location of the Tamil country overlooking the Bay of Bengal has provided with a long coast line of more than 700 square kilometers from Kanyakumari to the Pulicat lake on the north. Several ancient ports were situated on this long coast line of which some are surviving even to day. Kumari (Comari), Ko̱rkai (Colchi), Kāvirippūmpaṭṭiṉam (Camara), Pondicherry (Poduca) and Marakkāṇam (Sopatma) are mentioned as the chief ports of the east coast by the Periplus of the Erythrean sea. The Sangam literature mentions sea borne trade, especially with Rome and parts of South East Asia. A few types of ships are referred to in the Sangam literature of which **kalam, nāvāy,** and **vaṅkam** are referred to in respect of sea voyages. There is a reference to the builders of ship **(Kalampuṇar Kammiyar)** in **Maṇimēkalai.** All these suggest clearly that the Tamils in the early centuries of the Christian era had maintained trade contacts with countries on the east and west.

Maritime contacts with the Mediterranean countries, especially with Rome has been well documented and studied by several scholars. Roman artefacts like amphorae, rouletted ware, and Roman coins were reported in Tamil country both from excavations and on surface. Arikkāmēṭu (Pondicherry), Alakaṅkuḷam (Ramanathapuram district, Tamilnadu), Kuṭikāṭu (South Arcot district) have yielded Roman antiquities. However the Tamil country had maintained trade relations with the countries on the East from the early centuries of the Christian era, but this aspect has not been properly studied by scholars. In the following pages I have made a short study of the trade contacts with

South East Asia on the basis of the artefacts discovered in port cities of Thailand.

Recently a team of archeologists from India and Japan visited several places in Thailand and Malaysia to know the Indian contacts with South East Asia. They have discovered some important artefacts from the museums of Thailand and Malaysia.

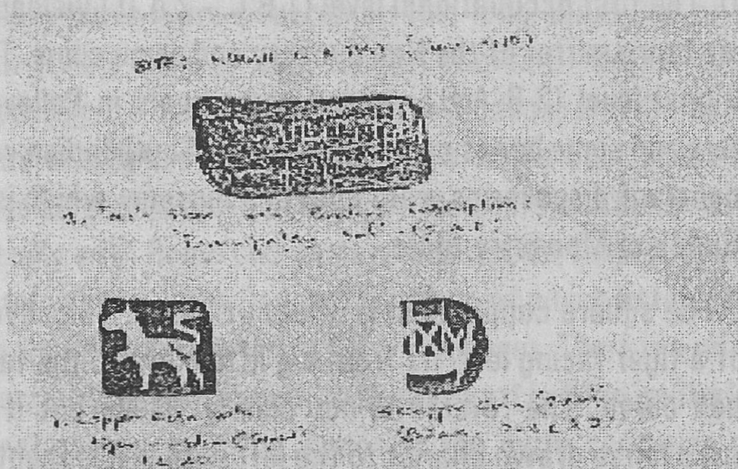
The west coast of the Southern Thailand (Malaysian Peninsula) has several ancient ports. The site at Khuan Luk Pat (Lat. 7'55, North Long. 99 9' East) in the Krabi province has yielded a Sangam Chola coin, a Brahmi inscription and a Pallava coin. Excavations and trial diggings in this place have yielded many artefacts belonging to 1 B.C. to 6 A.D. The first occupational level (1 B.C. - 2 A.D.) yielded intaglios, a Chinese bronz mirror of the Han dynasty and some coins. The second occupational level (3-6 A.D.) yielded some seals in Pallava Grantha characters and some beads comparable to the South Indian variety. The most important discoveries were kept in a museum which is managed by the Buddhist Monastry there.

The square copper coin is of about 2 cms. The obverse has a figure of a tiger facing left, its front leg lifted up and the tail upraised in a small curve. The reverse is not clearly visible but it seems to represent a horse drawn chariot to the left with an elephant following it. Not many coins of this type have been found in Tamil country. A few coins of this type were illustrated by R. Krishnamurthy in his Caṅkakālac cō<u>l</u>ar Nāṇayaṅkaḷ. The coin may be dated to the beginning of the Christian era.

The second important artefact is a small tough stone of (8 x 4 cms.) black schist. The reverse of the stone has a two line writing of the 3rd century A.D. It reads **perumpaṭa<u>n</u> kal**. The meaning of the inscription is clear, that it refers to a person named Perumpaṭa<u>n</u> as the owner of the stone. The touch stone was owned by that individual. Perhaps the person Perumpaṭa<u>n</u> was a gold smith or a gold merchant who was in possession of this stone. The inscription undoubtedly proves that the stone and the inscription was of Tamil origin.

A third evidence from the same site is a copper circular coin. The obverse of it has a twin masted ship with oars shown on one side. The reverse of the coin has a bull. The bull appears like a Pallava bull. The coin has no legend and is slightly damaged on one side. The coin could be assigned to the Pallavas (7-8 A.D.).

These artefacts clearly suggest the establishment of early trade contacts with South East Asia especially with southern Thailand.





ECONOMIC ASPECTS IN IRRIGATION METHODS

R. Tirumalai

Irrigation harnesses the natural resource of water for productive use in agriculture. From the earliest times the Tamils had valued the seasonal rainfall and water harvesting techniques were widely adopted. The Sangam literature reveals that the farmer with a single plough hastened to plough his field immediately seeing the rains fall on ground. (Ōr ēr uḻavar uḻucāl viraintaṉṉa). It can be inferred that even in the early days the small farmer with small parcels were the mainstay of agriculture.

In the economic heritage of the Tamils, irrigation had played a vital part. It was the major sector of occupation which led to the economic wealth of the land. Hence it was as much developed by that vast body of agriculturists directly taking to it as an avocation, as by the intermediary beneficiaries, the Brahmin literate, the temple, the Jains Palli, the mutt, and the **jivitam** holders, the chieftains in medieval times. Land grants by the kings and the chieftains were themselves instruments of economic development through history. The township occupants cared for extension of irrigation land and wet cultivation to raise paddy, and the valued crops, like betelvines, sugarcane, turmeric and plantains in all favourable tracts.

This led to two economic consequences - one, the wet crops were assessed at a disproportionately high rate of land assessment. The dry corps were taxed comparatively less. The principle that the water resource was scarce, and those who had utilised it to advantage can afford to pay more to the exchequer was well implemented.

Secondly, even dry crops were all assessed, including casual post-harvest catch crops like vegetables, brinjal (vaḻutalai) and pumpkin. This implies the charge for moisture - use left behind.

The water harvesting techniques and utilisation had taken forms which varied with the characteristics of the tracts, and their hydrological possibilities. The Cauvery delta, and the tract near the estuary of Tāmiraparaṇi and Pālāṟu lent themselves to cultivate paddy with utmost facility. The flat plains helped form natural river courses which served as distributary channels. The confluence of the rivers with the sea helped the drainage of excess waters during the monsoons. But the requirements of water for the post-monsoon periods were secured by ponding in fields and by "flood irrigation" in the Tanjavur delta. Indeed, inscriptions refer to a number of small tanks even in occupied holdings in the delta.

The Pandyan Kingdom had even more intricate systems of irrigation developed. This was because,

a. the tract had undulated surface and

b. the period of the dry season was longer.

A judicious use of the river waters was made through channels taking off from **anicuts** or cross-breeding through annual reconstruction with mud and earth and bush and trees, gradually replaced by stone or brick masonry works. The ribbon on either side of the river could be directly fed by channels depending on the gradient. This was the case in Vaikai river (above Maturai) and in Ci<u>nn</u>ama<u>nn</u>ūr tract (Uttamapālayam) under Curuḷiyāṟu and in some stretches of Tāmiraparaṇi tract. It helped utilise the water from upper catchments favoured by the South West monsoon in tracts which had only the benefit of the North-East monsoon.

Alongside, conjuctive use of the river flows and the local rainfall was rendered possible by the construction of tanks and connecting them to the river channels. The method pooled the advantages of the flows from the remote catchments and the high level catchments in the immediate vicinity. This method had been widely adopted in the Pālāṟu basin, and in Peṇṇāṟu, Tāmiraparaṇi, Ciṟṟāṟu and in Vaikai basin below Maturai upto Rāmanātapuram. The rivers and channels in the last finally emptied in big tanks like Rajasingamangalam and Rāmanātapuram.

The surplus into the sea was minimal. The utilisation of the waters from the catchments ahead was optimal. The dual advantage of the flows from the hills and during the north-east monsoon accrued to the command-area.

A third feature of the modalities of irrigation was to create a chain of tanks, whether in rainfed areas or in riverine tracts. This was also an effective method of the use of the land gradient. The surplus of the higher up source was used for supplying the lower down tanks. Jungle streams too were harnessed (as in the wilds of Kāḷaiyārkōyil) and the uplands of Teṉkāci and Caṅkaraṉkōyil and in the trans-Vaikai uplands of Mēlūr and Putukkōṭṭai. Conservation of water resources and using the water to the last drop before return flows were allowed was aimed at and achieved.

But this grid of irrigation sources could work only if the rights and obligations of the occupants in command-areas were defined and enforced. This was the function of custom and usage. There was an indefinite definiteness and a moral enforceability of the custom, even if unwritten, and the zealous watch by the community through the community organisations was its safeguard. The technological development also depended on the gradient and the natural flows from above. The static state of the technology was itself an insurance against the custom and usage being interfered with and flowed. Out of turn, supplies drawn, or interference with gravity followed by irregular baling was penalised. The heritage of Tamilnadu in irrigation can be distinctly found in this economic and optimal utilisation of water resources, without allowing them to go waste. The cropped area, irrigated by the surface sources tapped had been over the ages progressively increasing. Correspondingly even the marginal availability of water in dry uplands was also tapped particularly during the Vijayanagar times and even later.

The scarcity of surface resources had led even in very early times from the 7th and 8th centuries to the exploitation of the ground water. Wells sunk were valued more than the parcels of land adjoining them as in Putukkōṭṭai. Wells were used for directly irrigating the

surrounding lands, they were also used as supplemental or conjunctive sources where the tank supplies were inadequate or undependable. But crops raised with well water, even if sunk on private occupied holdings, were also liable to pay land revenue at the same rate as other surface flow Lands with an allowance for baling made as a fraction of the land dues.

This long practice was done away with only under British land administration on the principle that the land and sub-soil water therein were the property of the occupants. But it continued to be in force in some Inam estates till their abolition in the sixties. Wells fitted with baling stands and water drawn with human or bullock power had an inbuilt safeguard against the drawal exceeding the rate of recharge. Wells sunk in ayacut lands had an additional advantage of percolation. The wet cultivation in dry belts like Kōyilpaṭṭi, Paḻaṉi, Tiṇṭukkal, Rāmanātapuram district and in Putukōṭṭai and in the uplands of the northern districts had been both extensive and intensive on account of the well irrigation.

Construction of the irrigation sources was largely left to local initiative. Till the advent of the British administration State fiscal resources were not systematically deployed in construction and maintenance. A private benefactor, or a group of occupants or the community as a whole joined and through such efforts the channels were excavated or tanks built. The epigraphic evidence shows that only occasionally the king granted either remission or diversion of revenue due to him for such capital assets to be created. Sluices too were, likewise, the results of private investments or benefaction in the Pallava and Cola times.

This is even more true of the maintenance of irrigation sources.

The maintenance of the channels in the river system required:

(i) the construction and re-construction of **korombo** works across the river to divert flows. A number of such works have been replaced by masonry structures. But even today the earthern

Korombo works are undertaken in a few channel - systems of the Cauvery.

(ii) the maintenance and strengthening of embankments of the river like Kāvēri, Tāmiraparaṇi and Vaikai.

(iii) the scooping of the sand in the main channels, distributaries and field channels to ensure flow and command.

In medieval times even after heavy floods when the command-area suffered and got silted up, or sandcast the community effort and private initiative were pressed into service for land reclamation.

In the spring channels as in Pālāṟu and Vaikai it was the beneficiary farmers who had to scoop the sand, and locate springs in the river bed and take the water through long leads. For this purpose they mustered labour from among the farmers from villages miles away down the river to reach the sources, or the head springs. Even the upper Anicut in Tiruccirāppaḷḷi was built by such labour mustered by the collector Kindersley, from Tanjāvūr district who were taken to the site.

These items of maintenance were implemented by the community mustering labour from among the adults or a lay (Viṉiyōkam) distributed among the farmers. **Corru** or free labour, on demand, was the rule. Aranji Vedinai, Sennuvetti were the terms frequently occurring in the inscriptions to denote these obligations. "Kuṭimarāmat", as these came to be known in British times was a live and effective way of implementing these customary obligations. But it fell into disuse with the weakening of the community spirit the assertion of individual rights enforceable by law but in disregard to the community interests and the growing dependence on Government after the 19th century.

This has relieved the state of frequent capital deployment on recovering revenue expenditure. The community attending to these services made for economy. People's participating and labour canalised for creating productive assets. It ensured optimal cost benefit ratio.

The same community spirit was also canalised for the distribution, regulation and water management. The community owing lands under higher-up tanks undertook not to waste water but to ensure surplus to the lower down tanks. The tank ayacuts or channel-fed blocks had their turns for supplies. This stern system of turns was vigorously enforced in critical areas like Putukkōṭṭai. Water was allowed in terms of nir-nalikai (a unit of water supply measured in terms of the time allowed). Equitable distribution among the head reaches, the middle and the tailends was also ensured by such turns.

In times of extreme scarcity or at the fag-end of the irrigation season, the available supply even if short, was distributed equitably to the different reaches of the ayacut. The village community was the moral custodian of the interest of the village as a whole and could enforce through social and moral instruments the obligations on the delinquent members. This could be said to be persisting even upto the beginning of the modern administration in the mid-19th century. It was most effective in the Cōḻa, Pāṇḍya and even Vijayanagar times.



PERCEPTION OF WATER AND ITS MANAGEMENT IN TIRUKKURAL

N. Sivagnanam

Eventhough water is not life, it binds life with matter and as a consequence of this, biological variations are found in the earth. Water carries energy from non living things to living things. But for the water, economic activities of man, his cleanliness, his movements and his co-existence with other living things are impossible. Importance of water was felt at the start of the civilisation. Rivers and ocean edges had attracted many a civlisations.

Water is a physiological necessity for all protoplasm, the basic block of all living organisms. In the ecological point of view, water is a limiting factor of land and water in the world is measured, in the context of scientific principles, by its various forms. Rainfall, humidity, evapotranspiration power of the air and land, and the available surface and ground waters are the principal factors that contribute the measurement. It may be pointed out that the plants suck water from the soil (as a mixture of food) but loose 97 to 99 percent of it by transpiration. Hardly, it is a fraction of water, that is being cycled among the living organisms i.e. plants to animals and man and back to nature.

Preservation of water and its quality are paramount to quality of life in the world. Water not only cycles food to living organisms but also diseases if not handled properly. Its bountifulness shifts from place of abundance if water preserving environment is destroyed. The cyclic nature of water as expressed in hydrological cycles is still poorly understood; ecologists are of the view that we need to know more greater than what is being understood today.

Knowledge of water in ancient literature and limitations

In the context of this, Tamils were second to none to recognise the importance of water even in ancient times. Vivid descriptions can be found in our literary works, on the use, beauty and relevance to administration of the water bodies. Water barrier had been an important factor in many of the advancements and survivals of Tamil kingdom; be it river front, ocean front or deep ditches (moat) along the city walls.

But at the same time it may be remembered that knowledge of water (or any scientific understanding presented) 2000 years ago was a matter of the then world order that existed in the Tamil soils. Expressions in literary work had been subjected to,

a. The comprehensive learning system that existed during that time. Therefore, Tiruvaḷḷuvar was not necessarily a scientist of many scientific subjects that are encountered today. His experience and exposure with the neighbourly 'scientists' and artisans had been a source for his understanding which had been usually limited. Eventhen expressions tend to result in 'philosophical' views rather than 'scientific logical' views as the person had been a philosopher of ethical values.

b. The world was less populated during Tiruvaḷḷuvar's period and the means of production had been manual. It was impossible to bring large scale destruction and destabilisation in the nature. Therefore, not much attention had been given in the understanding of various aspects of scientific principles. (No doubt astronomy, navigation, settlement planning, agricultural system, irrigation management, medicine etc., had been understood in an advanced level). Adopting general principles Tiruvaḷḷuvar's thoughts were about the virtues of people and society at large, than the 'sciences' which promoted resource use and management.

c. Literary works had been organised for the larger populations. Therefore scientific works had been in the form of other expressions handled by scientists; probably restricted to diagrams, counting logics etc. There was no need to incorporate these terms in the literary works.

d. The explanations provided by the Tamil scholars in the later years had influenced the understanding of Tirukkuṟaḷ in scientific terms. Many times it made the language poorer in scientific explanations as the interpreter had limited knowledge of earth, atmospheric, biological and mathematical sciences.

Therefore evaluating a literary work in the context of scientific principles has its own limitations. Tirukkuṟaḷ, as it stands, has limitations in expressing importance of water as scientific entity.

Water and its form in Tirukkuṟaḷ

Water in the world, appears in various forms. Water vapour, rain, running water, snow, ice and hails are the principle forms of water. Precipitation is one another term used to mean fall of water forms from the sky in its various forms (such as rainfall, snow, hails and mist). In Tirukkuṟaḷ various terms have been used to refer various forms of water or to bring out various meanings in different contexts. To certain extent it may be pointed out that the explanations of the people who interpreted Tirukkuṟaḷ made us to understand the literary beauty of the Tamil words employed than its real meanings.

In Tirukkuṟaḷ the second chapter had been devoted entirely for the 'Atmosphere-hydrosphere'. But scholars argued it as a praise of 'Rains' or 'Sky'. The couplets 12, 14, 15 and 17 use various terms to express the rain. Even then the words 'puyal' (storm or continuous season) and Taṭinteḻili (cumulonimbus clouds) means special forms of rains or rain bearing clouds than the simple meaning of rains. The storm or continuous seasonal rains is an important factor for agriculture. Even today it is the practice of the farmers that they won't plough the land unless assured of continuous seasonal rains. The cumulonimbus cloud is the rain bearing cloud. It is usually thick, huge in size, and ends as a thunder storm. The word taṭinteḻili (தடிந்தெழிலி) means probably this formation which brings copious rains.

The couplets 16 and 20 stress the importance of water as a means of biosphere. The grass is the basic indicator of water. Some grasses survive with air moisture alone. Therefore the couplet 16

indicates the possibility of drought if there is deficiency of moisture (விசும்பின் துளி) as indicated by the rarity of green grass. The world won't survive without water is a forth right expression on the importance of water (couplet 20).

In the couplets 11,13,18 and 19 vāṉ-viṇ (வான்-விண்) were the words used to stress the importance of the atmosphere in an explicit way. The importance of atmosphere as a means of rains is an implicit factor. It may be remembered that the 'Five Powers' of the earth had been theorised 2000 years ago. They were conversent with the powers of land, water, air, sky and fire (நிலம், நீர், காற்று, ஆகாயம், தீ). This can be identified with lithosphere, hydrosphere, atmosphere, sky, space and energy of earth as explained in environment and ecological terms. Therefore the use of the words vāṉ (வான்) and viṇ (விண்) means more of the atmosphere which provides air, water and sunlight than a simple meaning of rains. In this context the couplet 20 may be interpreted in a better way as 'world won't survive without water; naturally no order (ஒழுக்கு) will prevail without atmosphere'.

Water and Water bodies

It is possible to appreciate that the Tamils were knowledgable with various forms of water bodies.

wide waters that surround the world	- விரிநீர் வியனுலகம்	(couplet 13)
The wide oceans	- நெடுங்கடல்	(17)
The large oceans	- பெருங்கடல்	(10)
Sea/Ocean	- கடல்	(103, 496)
The tank/ēri	- ஊருணி	(215)
Water	- நீர், நீரான், மணி நீர்	(20,298,452,523)
Well in the sand/spring	- மணற்கேணி	(396)
The deep river/flood	- நெடும்புனல், கடும்புனல்	(495)

The muddy land	-	காலாழ்களரி	(500)
Floods	-	வெள்ளம்	(595, 622)
River	-	ஆற்றின்	(716)
The river and spring	-	இருபுனல்	(737)
Rains/running water	-	வருபுனல்	(737)
Closed water with shades	-	நிழல் நீர்	(881)
Ocean	-	ஆழி	(989)
Severe flood	-	கடும் புனல்	(1134, 1167)

From the various terms used to refer water bodies, one can understand the knowledge of Tiruvaḷḷuvar in differentiating various forms of water bodies. Not only there is a differentiation in the nature of water bodies but also their sizes. The use of the terms Sea (கடல்) and Ocean (ஆழி) indicates as an example of the differentiation in qualitative terms.

Use of the knowledge of water

The knowledge of water had been used directly in 62 couplets. It extends from stressing the importance of 'atmosphere' to 'love affairs'. The ocean had been equated with great deeds. The benevolence had been identified with rains. The teacher was as good as a public tank to impart providing learning to all. The learning leads to wisdom as digging of river bed brings water.

The nature of water is interrelated with land. The couplet

'நிலத்தியல்பால் நீர் திரிந்தற்று' (452)

can be equated with the modern concept that 'the water quality is a factor of land/soil conditions'. The sensitivity of plants in the quality of water had been understood in the times of Tiruvaḷḷuvar. The couplet

'நன்னீரை வாழி அனிச்சமே' (1111)

conveys the message that 'aṉiccam' seeks good water as it is very sensitive.

It is remarkable to note that water is an important factor deciding the boundary of the lands. When Tiruvaḷḷuvar wrote about the 'Country' and 'barrier', the importance of water and water bodies had been pressed. Even today river is the basis of defining boundaries of many of the European countries. In peace times water bodies act as barrier of large scale migrations.

Conclusion

It is apparent to note that the reference of water is not uniform in Tirukkuṟaḷ. It is used intermittently and spread over in the entire work. However it may be pointed out that other than the chapter two on 'atmosphere' where 10 couplets are devoted, 5 couplets were used to portray the picture of the 'love longing' female. (1161,1164,1166,1167 and 1170) in one another chapter. Here also the inability of overcoming the 'love thoughts' had been equated with swimming in the ocean or in heavy floods as expressed in the lines of 1164, 1167 and 1170. Often it is 'sea' and 'ocean' or 'the river' and 'flood' referred to draw ethics or greatness of the people and the events. It may be possible to argue that Tiruvaḷḷuvar lived along the coastal area in greater part of his life where streams drained providing abundant water supply. It is also possible to infer that the majority of the Tamils lived along the deltaic regions of Tamilnadu during Thiruvaḷḷuvar's period necessitating his knowledge confined within the known facts. Tiruvaḷḷuvar expressed the facts what he knew without ambiguity.



ECONOMIC IDEAS OF TIRUVAḶḶUVAR

T. Murugarathanam

Tiruvaḷḷuvar's work is a treatise, called Muppāl, on Aṟam 'Righteousness', Poruḷ 'Socio-Polity', and Iṉpam, i.e., Kāmam, 'pleasures', 'love'. These three ideas had been systematised as the goals of human life, popularly known as 'Makkaḷ Uṟutip Poruḷ' in Tamil, 'Purushārthas' in Sanskrit. These are the integral philosophy of life of Vaḷḷuvar.

The Muppāl's first part deals with personal, familial and social ethics. The second part deals with State, Government, Economy and people. The third part deals with human conjugal love, which is purely literary. There is scope in the second part for economic ideas.

One must keep in mind, in this connection, the age, the land of Vaḷḷuvar and the nature of his work. Vaḷḷuvar lived some time in the first half of the first millennium A.D., in the simple Tamil land. These factors have been aptly described by the economist B Natarajan : 'The Kuṟaḷ does not speak of a framework of an economic system as such. For one thing, the society Vaḷḷuvar lived in was comparatively simple and placid enough not to warrant any radical change. Secondly, it is not for the Kuṟaḷ to be bogged down in techniques and technologies which are limited by time and space. The Kuṟaḷ principally provides certain basic ingredients without which no economic system in any time and place can run on desired line. (Economic and Political Philosophies of Tiruvaḷḷuvar, p. iii).

The same economist succinctly points out the nature of Vaḷḷuvar's work in a catching language; "Vaḷḷuvar himself never worked out an economic system in all its elaboration. He was no system builder. A work of synthesis is bound to be some what eclectic in approach and

general in treatment. But we have sufficient evidence to catch a glimpse of the constituents of an ideal economic society as Vaḷḷuvar saw it" - (Ibid, p. 37).

2. Terms and Ideas

No doubt there are some economic ideas in Muppāl and there are many terms which are technical in Economics. These are the terms:

wants	குறை, வறுமை, நிரப்பு	land	நிலம்
poverty	வறுமை	labour	தாள், வினை, தொழில், முயற்சி
plenty	திருவளம்	capital	முதல்
prosperity	நாடாவளம்	income	பொருளாக்கம்
rich	வளம், உடையார்	creation	பொருள் செயல்
charity	ஈகை, ஒப்புரவு	production	ஆக்கம், இயற்றல், விளையுள்
stealing	களவு	distribution	வகுத்தல்
begging	இரவு	consumption	துய்ப்பு
starvation	பசி	profit	ஊதியம்
disease	பிணி, நோய்	price	விலை
laziness	மடி	utility	பயன்
booty	தெறுபொருள்	wealth	செல்வம்
exchequer	வேந்தன்பொருள்	trade	வாணிகம்
		crafts	தொழில்
		agriculture	உழவு, வேளாண்மை
		wages	கூலி

entrepreneurship	ஆள்வினை, முயற்சி, தாளாண்மை
tax	இறை
customs	உல்கு
planning	இயற்றல்
economical	போற்றி வழங்கும் நெறி
escheats	உறுபொருள்

3. Basic Ideology

Before entering into the details of Vaḷḷuvar's specific economic ideas, one should know of the basic ideology of Vaḷḷuvar set to underlie the economic life of humans.

Ethical perspective

Vaḷḷuvar framed his socio-politico-economic ideas in an overall perspective of ethics. He was essentially an ethical man. Both the means and ends must be good to him. The economic means and economic ends must be good.

This was in line with the ancient and medieval scholasticism. Economics was not separated from the Moral Philosophy. Of the three subjects A̱ram, Poruaḷ, I̱npam he advocated A̱ram to govern the conduct of economic and political life.

நன்றே தரினும் நடுவுஇகந்துஆம் ஆக்கத்தை
அன்றே ஒழிய விடல். (113)

பண்பிலான் பெற்ற பெருஞ்செல்வம் நன்பால்
கலந்தீமையான் திரிந் தற்று. (1000)

அன்புஒரீஇத் தற்செற்று அறம்நோக்காது ஈட்டிய
ஒண்பொருள் கொள்வார் பிறர். (1009)

அருளொடும் அன்பொடும் வாராப் பொருளாக்கம்
புல்லார் புரள விடல். (755)

In these couplets Va̤lluvar emphasised that the means of acquiring wealth must be good and free from evil. The wealth must be put to good use of the society according to him.

பயன்மரம் உள்ளூர்ப் பழுத்தற்றால் செல்வம்
நயனுடை யான்கண் படின் (216)

Importance of Wealth

Va̤lluvar was an idealist. He idealised the personal life, family life and socio-political life of the people. At the same time he did not ignore their practical living. The emphasis of his thought was mainly on life-affirmation. He laid great importance on acquisition of wealth and its use to society and government. According to his dicta wealth is the basic need of the people's life:

பொருள்அல் லவரைப்பொருளாகச் செய்யும்
பொருள்அல்லது இல்லை பொருள் (751)

பொருள் என்னும் பொய்யா விளக்கம் (753)

செய்க பொருளை (755)

பொருள் இல்லார்க்கு இவ்வுலகம் இல்லை (247)

பொருளாட்சி போற்றாதார்க்கு இல்லை (252)

அறம்ஈனும் இன்பமும் ஈனும் திறன் அறிந்து
தீதின்றி வந்த பொருள். (754)

ஒண்பொருள் காழ்ப்ப இயற்றியார்க்கு எண்பொருள்
ஏனை இரண்டும் ஒருங்கு (760)

Wide basis for Welfare

Wealth is important in Va̤lluvar's scheme of life. This wealth is made of money, goods, produce, materials, land, animals, etc., These are material wealth. But to Va̤lluvar the extent of wealth is not restricted to these things only. There are certain non-economic things such as social and cultural items which had been considered by Va̤lluvar as values and wealth. They are education, knowledge, children, non-attachment,

good speech, compassion, enthusiasm, healthy mind etc., These are his words:

கேடுஇல் விழுச் செல்வம் கல்வி (400)

செல்வத்துட்செல்வம் செவிச் செல்வம் அச்செல்வம்
செல்வத்துள் எல்லாம் தலை. (411)

தம்பொருள் என்ப தம்மக்கள் (63)

வேண்டாமை அன்ன விழுச் செல்வம் (363)

அருட்செல்வம் செல்வத்துட் செல்வம் (241)

அறிவுடையார் எல்லாம் உடையார் (430)

உள்ளம் உடைமை உடைமை (592)

மனநலம் மன்னுயிர்க்கு ஆக்கம் (457)

It is generally thought that the welfare or happiness of the individual consists in the enjoyment of wealth. The wealth according to Vaḷḷuvar is broad-based including cultural and social values. These values are also means and ends of economic life of the people.

Merging of Economics and Politics

Most of the economic ideas of Vaḷḷuvar are found in the Poruṭpāl and are related to political set-up. The economic life of the people was viewed by Vaḷḷuvar as intertwined with the polity of the society. This is not only the view of the ancient thinkers; but also the views of the modern thinkers. "In Vaḷḷuvar's time, economics was not yet a differentiated discipline. It was a part and parcel of politics, or the science of statecraft. It was more political economy than economics. Even in the west, economics did not become a distinct discipline until after the publication of Adam smith's Wealth of Nations in 1776. Even then it was only political Economy, and a part of moral philosophy. It is relevant to remember that Adam Smith wrote his classic on Political Economy when he was holding the Chair of Moral Philosophy in the University of Glasgow. It was not until the days of Alfred Marshall, a century later, that economics became a separate science. But in our

own days, his pupil, Lord Keynes has begun to question the wisdom of this step and has indicated his preference for going back to the term political Economy" (B. Natarajan, p. 29).

There are two chapters on wealth in Vaḷḷuvar's Muppāl, viz., Poruḷceyalvakai 'The manner of creations of wealth' and Naṉṟi il celvam 'Useless wealth' which are included in the Poruṭpāl, that part on politics. Public Finance is an important and integral part of Economics. Vaḷḷuvar dealt with it elaborately in the Poruṭpāl.

Vaḷḷuvar had a grand conception of the nation (or country) which he depicted as a prosperous peaceful one in one chapter (74) consisting of ten couplets. Within these ten couplets he dealt with the political, social and economic aspects of the nation. He had got an integral view of the nation. Vaḷḷuvar's insight and wisdom are indicated by his treatment of economic ideas.

4. Public Finance

The modern Public Finance includes Public income or Revenue, Public Expenditure, Public Credit or Debt and Financial Management. Sources of income, taxes, taxation policies, government's welfare activities, expenditure, debts, budgeting are the subjects generally dealt with. Vaḷḷuvar had clear ideas regarding public finance.

The following couplets are most important in this regard:

பொறையொருங்கு மேல்வருங்கால் தாங்கி இறைவற்கு
இறையொருங்கு நேர்வது நாடு. *(733)*

உறுபொருளும் உல்கு பொருளும் தன்ஒன்னார்த்
தெறுபொருளும் வேந்தன் பொருள். *(756)*

இயற்றலும் ஈட்டலும் காத்தலும் காத்த
வகுத்தலும் வல்லது அரசு. *(385)*

The last couplet clearly states what was the public finance according to Vaḷḷuvar. He listed four functions, viz., Iyaṟṟal 'Creation of Wealth', Īṭṭal 'collection of wealth', Kāttal 'Protection of wealth' and Vakuttal 'Distribution of wealth'. All the four may be comprehended under the three heads of modern public finance:

1. Creation - Public Income
2. Collection and production - Financial Management
3. Distribution - Public Expenditure

Public Income

Vaḷḷuvar mentioned four sources of Income to the Exchequer:

1. Iṟai - This means what is given to the king. Iṟai was given to the king regularly and willingly by the people. By all evidence this means tax, most probably land tax given by the people who did agriculture. This must be a major revenue to the exchequer.
2. Uṟu Poruḷ - This means that wealth which reaches the king. This is general, not specific. Perhaps this includes other incomes such as:

   the treasure troves and escheats

   the uninherited property

   the fines from criminals

   those recovered from thieves and

   presents to the king

These were common and generally approved and accepted sources in the ancient and medieval period.

3 Ulku is customs duties and tolls, paid by the traders on foreign goods. Ulku is a word derived form sulka of Sanskrit. Foreign trade was flourishing in the Sangam Tamilnadu and considerable income should have been accrued to the king.

4. Teṟu Poruḷ is booty. Tributes by vassals and presents may also be included under this revenue.

As Vaḷḷuvar has listed these revenues, it may be taken that these were socially approved and just. It must be presumed that the other sources of income, if any, were considered by Vaḷḷuvar as unjust.

Public Expenditure

Vaḷḷuvar has not given any clear expression regarding the items of state's expenditure. But one can surmise and gather from his treatise some of the items of expenditure:

1. Dana/Donation and present to various categories of people.
2. Defence expenditure.
3. Expenditure on foreign relations (expense on ambassadors, help and presents to friendly kings, etc.,).
4. Welfare activities towards people.
5. Expenditure on administration including expenditure on judicial administration.

This is fairly a good account of the public finance of the Muppāl treatise of Vaḷḷuvar.



ECONOMIC CONCEPTS OF KAUDILYA AND VAḶḶUVAR WITH SPECIAL REFERENCE TO AGRICULTURE

V. Balambal

Economics is the backbone of any state or organisation. Even before the dawn of civilization, when man was leading a life of an animal, he was satisfying his basic needs only. He was mainly concerned with his food and later when he had a settled life, he started thinking about his other needs. This was because of their realisation of the importance of land and agriculture. Hence agriculture became the main occupation of the people in ancient period. When the leader of the group slowly rose to the position of King, enjoying all privileges and rights, it became his duty to protect his subjects and territory.

Both in North India and South India many dynasties had come and gone. Though many literary works were written and understood, **Arthasastra** of Kaudilya and **Thirukkuṟaḷ** of Vaḷḷuvar find their important and permanent place all through the ages. These two works deal with many aspects of life. But an attempt has been made in this paper to focus the economy concept of Kaudilya and Tiruvaḷḷuvar with special reference to Agriculture which was/is considered to be the main occupation of the people of India.

Both the works give importance to the ruler, his kingdom, people, their life style etc., The seven elements or the **Saptanga** theory of Kaudilya is well accepted and explained by Valluvar too.[1] But as Kaudilya[2] had enjoyed the status of the Chief Minister of Chandra Gupta Maurya,

1. Kuṟaḷ. 381
2. The view of the writer is that Kaudilya and Chanakya were one and the same person. The last book of **Arthasastra** states that Kaudilya had taken efforts to uproot the Nanda rule.

he showed keen interest in writing something on Statecraft. **Arthasastra** contains 15 books, 150 chapters, 180 sections, and 4800 **slokas.** Books 1-5 deal with **tantra** or internal administration; 6 to 13 **avapa** or state's relation with neighbouring states and 14&15 miscellaneous. Book two is rich with information relating to land and agriculture.

The background of Vaḷḷuvar was totally different. He belonged to the weaving community and he evinced keen interest in high lighting important aspects of human life giving importance to the "dos and don'ts of life". Unlike Kaudilya who focussed everthing in the light of the king and the state, Vaḷḷuvar concentrated on the common man and his view points. **Tirukkuṟaḷ**, one of the 18 Minor Works consists of Three major divisions (i.e.) **Aṟam** (**Dharma** or ethics) **Poruḷ** (**Artha** or polity) and **Iṉpam** (**Kāma** or love).

It does not allot separate section for **Viṭu** (**Moksha** or Liberation). Kuṟaḷ contains 1330 couplets which are divided into 133 chapters, each containing 10 verses. It belongs to the Sangam age.[3] Though **Arthasastra** and **Kuṟaḷ** give importance to economic aspects, their approach and dealing are slightly different in relation with the background of their authors and their purpose of writing. When Kaudilya evolved a political theory, the socio-economic aspects became part and parcel of it. But in the case of Vaḷḷuvar, he gives equal importance to political, social, economic and cultural aspects of life. While his was a philosophy of a common man and not for a chosen few, Kaudilya's was of a king and through the king to the people. **Arthasastra** aims at showing how the ruler should protect the territory and how to acquire it hence it is mainly a political philosophy. Vaḷḷuvar touches upon almost all aspects of life in equal terms but Kaudilya focuses on administration. Occupations become important when a nomadic society turns to be a settled society. **Arthasastra** specified the three vocations from which men make their livelihood. They are agriculture (**Krsi**), cattle rearing

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3. Some scholars assign post Sangam age for this work. But Tiruvaḷḷuvar era is said to have started around 31 B.C. Hence it is a Sangam work only.

(**Pasupalya**) and trade (**Vanijya**). These three constitute **Vritti** or livelihood. Arts and crafts are not included in **Vritti.** This many be objected because there are people who earn their livelihood with art and craft.

The sources of State income and expenditure become an interesting aspect of study because without funds a state could not function. The commentary gives the various sources of state income as depicted in **Kuṟaḷ.** They were a share of the produce,[4] from customs, enemies' treasures, trade, fines, punishment for robbers, property of the heirless person etc., Kaudilya also classifies state income in the budget under seven head (ie.,) City, country, mines, irrigation work, forests, cattleherds and trade routes.[5] The revenue from these came either in the form of tax or impost or profit made by state enterprises. Hence both Kaudilya and Vaḷḷuvar narrate various ways in which the state collected funds for its various functionaries.

Importance is given to land in both the works. Land was the measuring rod of one's wealth and it was fairly understood that there were state ownership and private ownership of lands. There were tenants, agricultural labourers as well as absentee landlords. As according to **Arthasastra,** king was the centre of all activities, the control of the king over lands is much stressed.

According to **Arthasastra,** all unoccupied lands, forests and water resources belonged to the king. Crown lands were directly cultivated by his officials. Land ready for agriculture should be given to those who are willing to pay taxes. If the grantees fail to till the soil, it may be taken away and given to others, or state itself would till with its servants.[6]

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4. Though the commentators specify that State's share was 1/6 of the produce, Vaḷḷuvar never mentions so.
5. Kaudilya's Arthasastra (K.A.) 2-6, 1-8, the slokas give more detailed account of the state income.
6. K.A. 2.1.10-11.

Unarable land could be given for cultivation to those who chooses to do so. In this case, it is not taken away from him.[7] He is also a tenant on State land. State would help the settlers with seeds, cattle and even cash for reclamation of land. These are loans to be recovered at tenant's convenience.[8] Other concessions and remissions in taxes are recommended at the time of the first settlement.[9] Slowly pasture lands should make way for agriculture but encroachments by pastures on agricultural lands should not be tolerated. Various types of lands may be selected for reclamation as well as settlement.[10] As land is the main property of the king as well as the people, they are to be safe-guarded. Boundaries of lands are to be well marked out to avoid dispute between two villages. It is interesting to note that each **grama** or village consisted of 100 to 500 families mostly belonging to Sudra agricultural class.[11] The owner of the land (**Ksetrikās**) is different from its tenant (**Upavāsa**).[12] In case of land disputes, if the party concerned is unable to show proof, the disputed land goes to the State.[13] Similarly untraceable owner's land also belongs to the State. It is interesting to note that lands were gifted to priests, preceptors, Brahmins,[14] and they and their heirs enjoyed exemption from State dues. Though lands were given to the accountants, adhyaksas etc., they had no right to sell or mortgage the same. The sale of land was from tax payer to tax payer and grant holders to grant holders.[15]

Vaḷḷuvar also specifies the ownership of lands. He hails peasant propritorship and a combination of economic liberty, industry and enterprise on the part of the peasant would produce good yield. He also

7. K.A.2.1.9.
8. K.A.2.1.13-14
9. K.A.2.1.15-18
10. K.A.2.17.11
11. K.A.2.1.2: **Grama** was not a big farm or estate as opined by Pran Nath and stated in his, **A Study of economic conditions of ancient India**, London, 1929, pp. 26-32.
12. K.A.3.10.8
13. K.A.3.9.15-17
14. K.A.2.1.7
15. K.A.3.10.9

condemns absentee landlordism. He does not give a detailed account of land ownership like Kaudilya but in a nut shell he makes us understand the role of king, peasant, landlords, absentees landlords, agricultural land lords etc., He hails agriculture and agriculturists for obvious reasons.[16] According to him, the most important, primary and prestigious activity of all times is agriculture. Raising food is the fundamental occupation of Mankind. The plough man alone live as the free man of the soil. The rest were mere slaves that batten on their toil.[17] Valluvar encouraged free enterprise in agriculture and valued highly the economic freedom it confers. Agriculturists are the linchpin of the world, for on their hardwork and prosperity revolves the prosperity of the other sectors of the economy.[18] As statecraft is the theme of **Arthasastra,** Kaudilya has not given as much importance to Agriculture as Valluvar has given. The latter as wise man was perhaps able to make his remarks in this regard.

Tirukkural starts with invocation to God and gives importance to a very important natural resource (ie) rain (water). Without rain, there is no vegetation, life or prosperity. Hence after touching the spiritual concept, Valluvar plunges into an economic aspect (ie) rain and its importance. But Kaudilya's first book of **Arthasastra** concentrates on the king, his duties and the equipments necessary for discharging the same. The political concept dominates in **Arthasastra.**

Food is the basis of life and rain brings food.[19] Failure of rain spells disaster and ruin all economic life. Life can't exist without water, neither can right contact.[20] As agriculture is the most fundamental economic activity, Valluvar stresses the significance of rain for the prosperity of the people. For the modern economists, land may be the primary natural resource but for Valluvar water is the most important natural resource. There could be soilless agriculture but no moisturless agriculture. Though the possibility of getting more rain in North India is there, Kaudilya sounds a caution while choosing a land. He advises to

16. **Kurals** 1031-40
17. **Kural** 1033
18. **Kural** 1032
19. **Kural** 4
20. **Kural** 20

choose the land which abounds in water, yields crops without much rain.[21] According to him the best land is not dependent on rain. Here, there is difference between Vaḷḷuvar and Kauḍilya.

Vaḷḷuvar narrates the methods to be followed in cultivation (ie) ploughing, manuring, sowing, weeding, irrigation, guarding the crop etc., According to him, land, the natural resource responds in proportion to the efforts put into it. The limitations of the soil could be overcome by showing proper care in all these steps. All lands are fit for cultivation by putting in man's efforts. Vaḷḷuvar insists on hard labour for the better yield.[22] It is the duty of the peasant to protect land from all calamities taking necessary precautionary methods.

Kaudilya gives importance to irrigation. Two types are suggested by him. They are 1. wells and tanks, 2. reservoirs.[23] Irrigation is mainly a state activity; there are privately owned irrigation tanks and if necessary one could sell or mortgage his tank. As state is much concerned with agricultural activity, it keeps a good record of all holdings, fields, crops raised[24] and produce. So that it may not be cheated at a later date of its legitimate dues.[25] Arthasastra states that the wage of the labourer on land is fixed as **pana** per month with food for him and his family. Though Vaḷḷuvar does not specify, he encourages peasant proprietorship even if it is a small bit of land. Ofcourse the absentee landlordism leads to employment of peasant and perhaps they were paid in kind. **Arthasastra** mentions about the various officials that is **Sitadhayaksās** incharge of agricultural activities and collection of revenue.[26] They were to supervise the work of the **dāsās** (slaves), **Karmakarās** (Labourers) and **dandapratikartrs** (those who failed to pay fines). **Gopās** and **Stānikās** keep records and statistics of agriculture and other properties in villages.

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21. K.A.7.11.3-5
22. **Kuraḷ** 1040
23. K.A.2.1.20
24. K.A.2.35.3
25. K.A.2.22.11-14
26. K.A.2.24

For sale of land, the state gets sales tax.[27] It is not clearly stated both by Kaudilya and Valluvar the exact state share of the produce, what action to be taken by the state if land tax is not paid. Valluvar condemns the king who compels people to pay as he is like a highway man who waylays the traveller.[28] But **Arthasastra** lays down detailed devices by which the maximum revenue could be raised from land through fear or persuation.

With all these Arthasastra says that in the happiness of his subjects lies the king's happiness, in their welfare, his welfare.[29] Valluvar also supports this view.

In the modern concept, land, labour and capital are the agents of production (the fourth one is added in the form of organisation). These perhaps with the exception of the fourth agent, were present in earlier times too in simpler ways. Valluvar opines that the agents of production were the unfailing harvest, a competent body of men, and a group of men whose wealth knows no dimunition.[30] Unfailing harvest is possible if only the various positive steps are followed in cultivation for which labourers and those who could invest their wealth are also essential. This aspect will fit in **Arthasastra** too though much concern is shown to the administrative aspect. The major income of the state was from land revenue as depicted both in **Kural** and **Arthasastra**.

There are no means to know the exact terms of employment of labourers and the terms of tenancy in respect of cultivation too. Atleast **Arthasastra** says about the confiscation of lands if tax is not paid. Valluvar was very moderate in his approach to the agriculturists, the poor and needy.

The expenditure part is specified by Valluvar. The state has to spend for 1. Ethical codes, 2. For army, fort, defence and diplomacy and 3. For pleasures or those which cater to the senses.[31] In a nutshell, the state income should be spent on defence, public works and social

27. K.A.3.9.5-6
28. **Kural** 552
29. K.A.1.19.34
30. **Kural** 731
31. **Kural** 385

services. Similar expenses are narrated in **Arthasastra** in a detailed manner.

Valluvar states that a kingdom is that which continues to be free from excessive starvation, irremediable epidemic and destructive foes.[32] It shows that he gives priority to food production and distribution. Valluvar postulates the theory that agriculture is not an occupation alone. It fulfils the productive need of the society. As such, the peasants are to be respected. Land should be owned by the farmer. State should protect agriculture.

It may look very odd to compare and contrast these two major literary works of ancient India on agriculture due to the nature of authors, the environment, the conditions which contributed to their writings, their approach and expectations. But it cannot be denied that agriculture was the most important and common occupation of the people of all times and it has contributed to the economic concept of Valluvar and Kaudilya. However powerful, the King was, if his land does not yield properly, he has to face the consequences. The welfare of the people was directly or indirectly the main theme of these works.

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TAMIL'S CONCEPTS OF ECONOMICS AS PER CILAPPATIKĀRAM

S.V. Subramaniam

Tamils are living in the southern most part of India for the past three thousand years. The word 'Tamil' denotes the language (Tol. 385), Land (Puṟam. 51.5), People (Pari. 7.5), Army (Puṟam. 19.2), Literature (Pari. 9.25)[1] etc., The Tamils are having a tradition and heritage of their own. One of them is Economics. Tamil's view of life is having three phases such as iṉpam, poruḷ and aṟam (ie.) pleasure, wealth, virtue, out of which the wealth is centered because it gives pleasure as well as the opportunity to do virtuous deeds. Wealth is a basic thing for humanity. Economics deals about wealth and its utility.

Economics

The word economics has been derived form the Greek word 'ecko' meaning house and 'nom' meaning rule-with a suffix of ics- (i.e.) the science which deals about household. Economics as a discipline was developed by Adam Smith (1723 - 1790) in the 18th century. He defines Economics as the 'Science of wealth'. Marshall says that "Economics is a study of mankind in the ordinary business of life, that is the welfare of the people." Lionel Robbins of London School of Economics clarifies "Economics is a science which studies human behaviour as a relationship between ends and scarce means which has alternative uses."[2]

Cilappatikāram

Cilappatikāram is the first available epic in Tamil which deals about the Tamils society of the 2nd century A.D., In that period in India and the world the epic heroes were kings and queens. But only in

Cilappatikāram, the epic heroine was Kaṇṇaki, the wife of a merchant, Kōvalaṉ.

In Tamil the word poruḷiyal or poruḷatikāram is equated with economics. Mainly economics deals with six aspects as production, distribution, exchange, consumption, public finance and standard of living. All these aspects are interrelated and interconnected.

Poruḷ

Wealth is denoted by the Tamil words such as poruḷ, celvam, niti, tiru, valaṉ/m and veṟukkai.

Wealth is very difficult to acquire so they call it as 'arumporuḷ' and its utility is great, so they mention it as 'vāṉporuḷ'. Man must acquire it, so it is 'varaiporuḷ', what is acquired at hand is noted as 'kaipporuḷ'.

The ancestral property was called as 'iruniti'; the presently acquired and accumulated wealth was called as 'varuniti'. Usually people may spend the wealth which they acquire and they will not spend the ancestral property; so Iḷankō introduces Kōvalaṉ's father as 'varuniti piṟark kārttum mācāttuvaṉ' - That is, "he who gives his acquired wealth to the needy".

Production

Regarding production there are two types. One is extractive industries and the other is industries.[3] Most of the food productions are produced with the help of land, water, light, air etc., All these are natural resources. In all the five regions Kuṟiñci, Mullai, Marutam, Neytal and Pālai, natural food materials were available. Honey collecting, digging esculent and bulbous roots, fruit-picking, fishing, mining, agriculture, all these are called extractive industries. Ship building, handicrafts, cottage industries are all industries in general. Tamils call the land and time as 'mutaṟporuḷ' (ie) the first and basic element for any production. Not only mutaṟporuḷ is the basic thing for economic developments of a country. Time element (Economic Analysis, pp. 324-330) is the most

important thing for producing any material and to sell it; the value of the product depends on time only.

Agricultural Products

Agricultural products are called generally as Kūlam (5.23, 14:21). 'Kūlam kuvitta kūla vītiyum. They are nellu, pullu, varaku, tiṇai, cāmai, iṟuṅku, tōrai, irāki, eḷḷu, koḷḷu, payaṟu, uḷuntu, avarai, kaṭalai, tuvarai, moccai; paddy, hulbrush millet, millet, italian millet, common millet, great millet, bamboo seed rice, sesame, horsegram, dhal, and hyacinth bean. Sugar cane, banana, coconut, mango and jack also were produced. All kinds of household necessities such as pepper, ginger, arecanut, garlic, cardamom, were produced, sold and consumed. Fish-catching and salt producing were the main industry of the maritime tract. Milk products and ghee were produced in the pastoral tract. Eatables of all kinds were prepared and made available in the market. Necessaries such as dress, clothing materials were produced.

paṭṭiṉum mayiriṉum parutti nūliṉum
kaṭṭu nuṇ viṉaik kārukar irukkaiyum. (5.16-17)

weavers (kārukar), tailors (tuṉṉakārar), leatherstichers (tōliṉtuṉṉar) worked well and produced lot of materials.

Worker

For everyday use, materials of all kinds were produced by kañcakārar- braziers, cempu ceykunar - coppersmith, taccar - carpenter, kollar - blacksmiths, kaṇṇuḷviṉaiñar - painters, maṇṇīṭṭāḷar - imagemakers by plastering, poṉceykollar - goldsmiths, naṉkalamtarunar - jewellers, etc., Experts in each field were there, tirumaṇikuyuṟṟunar - pearl stringers or bead workers, vaḷaipōḻunar - makers of conch - ornaments were also there.

Luxurious items such as pattut tuvar - ten medical astringents, aintuvirai - five fragment materials, muppattiruvakai ōmālikai (6.77) thirty two kinds of fragrant substances were available for the bath of the high sophisticated society.

From these facts one may understand that necessary and luxurious items were available for the personal or individual life of the people.

Gold

Gold-ornaments of all types (6.84-108) were made and worn by rich damsels. A country's wealth is established by its possession of gold, silver and diamond. In Cilampu a detailed explanation and study of gold and diamonds were given in Canto 14 (ie) ūr kāṇ kātai, lines; 180-204. Four kinds of gold, viz, cātarūpam, kiḷiccirai, āṭakam, cāmpūnatam were available. Nine kinds of diamonds were known as emerald, ruby, topaz, sardony, sapphire, cats-eye, pearl, beryl, red-coral. These have been explained in detail with utility and quality and defects if any.

Currencies and coins were made for exchange; they may change from time to time. So the currencies and coins will not denote the wealth of the country; only gold and silver and diamond will be considered for the wealth of a country. Because of this, consideration have been given by the finance ministry to bring gold from foreign countries to India by non-resident Indians.

Kōvalan̲ to possess Mātavi had given thousand eight kal̲añcu gold for a mere greenleaf garland. He was so rich. When Maṇimēkalai was born to him, the naming ceremony of the child was celebrated in grand scale. Both Kōvalan̲ and Mātavi gave handfuls of gold (15.40-41) to everybody who came to the occasion.

Nowadays there are many temples in Tamilnadu, having gold plated chariots, for pulling which money is collected from the devotees as an income for the temple. In Cilampu days also temples with silver plated domes were available as known from 'veḷḷi ampalam' (p. 40) and gold plated mansion in the Cērā king's palace (ie) taman̲iya māḷikai (28.50). Utensils were made of gold; cempon̲ vaḷḷam (14.132), por̲kalam (22.48). King's parasol was made of gold-taman̲iya neṭuṅkuṭai (28.1). Even to-day silver betel pouches are used in some houses. In those days betal pouches were made in gold also; taman̲iya aṭaippaiyum (14.128).

Distribution

All the materials which were produced have been distributed through shops and bazaars. Shops were denoted as kaṭai (6-139) and pīṭikai (15-60). Bazaars were mentioned as aṅkāṭi (5-63) āvaṇam (14-213). Day market was called nāḷaṅkāṭi (5-63); it may be daily market also as found in many cities in Tamilnadu even to-day. The sellers were called vilaiñar (5-26). Generally traders were labelled as vaṇikar/n̲ (5-41;20-58). Trading caravan was called as 'cāttu' (11-190) (i.e) land traders as cāttuvan̲ (1-33) and sea traders as nāykan̲ (1-23). Kōvalan̲'s father was the head of land traders, so he was called mācāttuvān̲. Kaṇṇaki's father was the head of sea-traders. So he was titled as mān̲āykan̲.

Transport

Transport facilities were available both in land and water. For private travel Kōvalan̲ used attiri (6-119), a kind of horse or pony as his vehicle. 'Vaiyam' (7-52-9) - cart was used by Mātavi. Pāṇṭil (14-168, 26-194) was the two wheeled cart for taking people and materials. Palanquin ie., civikai (14-126) was used by sophisticated persons. Chariots were used by kings.

For sea-trade they used kalam (6-130) and vaṅkam (14-107) denoting ships. For pleasure trips in river waters, Tamils used ñīraṇi māṭam (10-215) a kind of boat; as well parimuka ampi, karimuka ampi and arimā ampi (13-176-177) ie., boats having horse, elephant and lion decorative faces.

Foreign Trade

Foreigners came for trade in the city of Pukār, the capital of the Cōḻa country. Yavan̲ar irukkai (5-10), moḻipeyartēttōr (6-143), pulampeyarmākkaḷ (5-11), kalam taru tiruvir̲ pulampeyarmākkaḷ (6-130) all these denote the settlement of, and the export and import trade by outsiders.

All the materials were listed with the price or cost in the flags in shops. The terms noṭai (5-24) and vilai (5-51) denote the cost of the

things. The word vilai was having many meanings as sale, cost, value and value in exchange. Exchange was there, but the mode of exchange is not known.

Measures

Measures for the materials were found. Kaḻañcu (3-162) is a weight measure for weighing gold. Ampaṇam (14-209) is a grain measure. Linear measure also was known. It is very interesting to note about the linear measure 'kōl' (3-100). Kōl is a measuring rod. One kōl is equal to twenty four thumb length-'kōlaḷavu irupattuṉāl viral āka' (3-100). But, whose thumb is the standard is the question? The commentator Aṭiyārkkunallār explains this as follows:

> "ஒத்த அணுமுதல் உயர்ந்துவரு கணக்கின், உத்தமன் பெருவிரல் இருபத்து நாலுள, கோலே கோடல் குறியறிந்தோரே". இதனுள் அணுமுதல் பெருவிரல் அளவு உயர்ந்து வருமாறு. அணு எட்டுக் கொண்டது தேர்த்துகள். தேர்த்துகள் எட்டுக் கொண்டது இம்மி, இம்மி எட்டுக் கொண்டது எள்ளு. எள்ளு எட்டுக் கொண்டது நெல்லு. நெல்லு எட்டுக் கொண்டது பெருவிரலெனக் கொள்க."

This shows the minute details of measuring.

Consumption

The production of materials were enough for the people's consumption. It is a wonder to note that the word 'vaṟumai'- poverty is not availbale in Cilampu, except in one place (ie) after the story is over, after many years. In 'uraipeṟu kaṭṭurai', it is stated that poverty prevailed in Pāṇṭiya country, due to drought; so they worshipped Kaṇṇaki, and got abundant rains, which brought an end to famine.

Public finance

Public finance was very sound in the days of Cilampu. All the kings of Tamil country built moats, forts etc., for their and societies'

safety. They had the assistance of assemblies like eṇpērāyam and aimperuṅkuḻu (5-157). Karaṇattiyalavar - accountants, karumakārar-executors, kaṉakaccuṟṟam - treasury men, kaṭaikāppāḷar - watchmen, nakaramāntar - city people, naḷipaṭaittalaivar - army commanders, yāṉaivīrar - elephant warriors, ivuḷimaṟavar - troopers are the eight components who assisted the king. Amaiccar - ministers, purōkitar - priests, cēṉāpatiyar - captains, tūtuvar - ambassadors, cāraṇar - spies are the five important personalities who were close to the king.

The king got revenue by way of taxes. Kaṭaṉ (8-20) kaṟai (4-9) were terms denoting tax paid by the people : 'kaṟai keḻu kuṭikal kaitalai vaippa' (4-9). Iṟai (5-100) tiṟai (25-36) denote tributes paid by the chieftains and the petty rulers who have been defeated by the Tamil monarchs. Formerly iṭu- poruḷ and paṭuporuḷ (23-128) also went to the king. Later the rule has been changed as both iṭuporuḷ and hidden treasure (ie) paṭuporuḷ, which has been found out by some person will be the receiver's wealth. Whenever the king visits the places of importance in his country, the subjects or the people gave him their own products. When Cēraṉ ceṅkuṭṭuvaṉ visited the hilly regions, the people told him the story of Kaṇṇaki, as well, gave him elephant tusks, sandal wood and other cultivated and collected products of their area. The king made all arrangements of law and order to look after the subjects of his country; the kings spent a large part of finance for defence and in the war also. Ceṅkuṭṭuvaṉ went to the north and had victory over many kings of the north and brought stone to make an idol of Kaṇṇaki; for that purpose he might have spent a lot of wealth.

Standard of living

The standard of living in the cities like Pukār, Maturai and Vañci as reflected from Cilampu is worth mentioning. Individual and social life of the Tamils were satisfactory in those days. One is able to understand only about urban economy. The rural economy also might have been good.

Conclusion

Tamil's economic reflections as delivered by Iḷaṅkōvaṭikaḷ in Cilappatikāram was a healthy one as in the case of individual, social and political economic life of the people.

FOOT NOTES

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POLITICAL ECONOMY OF THE CHOLAS

A. Padmavathy

Political economy is one of the social sciences which investigates the laws governing the development of various spheres of human activity, mainly production and distribution of the human needs. Before commencing the study of any science, it is essential to ascertain its subject matter. The subject matter of political economy is the production and distribution of commodities in a particular socio-political structure of human society.

Social Formation of the Chola period

The social formation of the Cholas was feudal formative structure. Human history knows mainly five basic social formations or mode of production. They are: primitive, slave, feudal, capitalist and socialist formations. The primitive communal system was a classless society. The primitive people lived for centuries without any exploitation of labour. The low level of production (or productive forces) was the important reason for this.

Exploitation arose only with the breakup of the primitive society when the human labour began to yield a surplus production because of the development in productive forces.

After primitive society, the new emerged social structure was slave - owning system. This system was another step in human society. The development of slave mode of production ruined the commune nature of the society. In the social formation, both the body and labour of the slaves were the private property of the slave owners. In order to safeguard this class divided society, one new apparatus, the state emerged. Slaves hated their oppressors. The development in the

productive forces further led the society to its next stage called feudal society.

Political economy of the Cholas

In the South the Chola rule spread from 9th c A.D. to 13th c. A.D. The social structure of the Chola was mainly based on the feudal mode of production. Agriculture was the dominating one while handicrafts and trades also existed. The development of Agriculture production was the main source for the development of the handicrafts and trades.

The political and social structure of that society was designed by the native of the production and exchange of products of that period. The social relations existed in the production and exchange at the period is studied here as the political economy of the Cholas.

Mode of Production and Social Structure

In human society, the economic production is a collective one. The relation arising between people in the process of production are known as relations of production. In a particular social formation the essence of the relation of production reflects the main classes existing in that society. For instance in the feudal society, the relations between the peasants and landlords decide the social structure, where as in a capital society, the relations between the bourgeoise and the proletariat play the decisive role.

The economic structure of a particular society is the relations of production of that period, which is determined by the development of the productive forces of that period. The nature of the law and politics of that society is also essentially determined or designed by the economic structure of that period.

In political economy, the mode of production is a category which includes both the production forces and relations of production. The mode of production designs the social political and intellectual thought and the institutions which reflet them.

In belief, in the study of social formation, the relation of production are called as the base and the political, social, literary, cultural thoughts and the institution which reflect them are called the super structure.

In a particular social formation more than one mode of production may exist, but one among them would play the central role. And also that central one decides the essence of that particular society.

At a particular stage of a society, the mode of production of the previous social formation, the mode of production which originates newly and plays the central role at that period and some parts of the future mode of production may co-exist. For instance some feature of slave-owning mode of production existed in the Chola period too. This was the residue of the previous society. Likewise the development of trades and agriculture showed the shadow of some features of the future society.

The primary mode of production of the Chola society was feudal mode of production. Agricultural economy based on the land dominated. The Nattars, Bramadeya land - lords and the temple establishments, as the land-owners claimed right on the agricultural product. The state which was the political agency of the land-owners class by protecting them, also had the right to share the surplus labour with the land-lords.

The relations of production was essentially based on the social divisions, the original tillers of land and the land-lords who lived on the surplus labour of the tillers.

Handicrafts such as carpentry, iron-melting also existed to support agriculture. Weaving, oil-production, pottery-making also prevailed to fulfil the basic needs of the people.

Small merchants played the intermediate role in the exchange of the agricultural and handicrafts goods. To satisfy the aristocratic section such as royal, government officials and rich class needs the big traders also had a role. These traders had the contact with the south-east asian countries.

To hold and control their power on the agricultural economy and the peasants, the land-lords established some administrative systems such as Nadu, Brahmadeya and Nagaram.

Agriculture

The Chola dynasty engaged itself to the land reclamation and irrigation system. Ūr and Brahmadeya villages participated in the agriculture production.

The Ūr or village had the class division of land-owners, or landlords who claimed the right on lands and the peasants who were the direct producers.

Distribution

In Brahmadeya or Chadurvedimangalam, Devadanam and Pallichandam etc., lands were donated to Brahmins and also to Saiva, Vaishnava, Jain, Buddha temples. These lands were donated to them often with the peasants who had worked on those lands. They were given a small piece of land as Kani. They worked for them and also for their land-lords. Thus the surplus labour was extracted by he ruling class.

The local administrative body of Urar, Sabhaiyar, Nattar and Nagarattar were the basic segments of administration. These units got the political power from the decentralized Chola state. The above local units showed their royalty to the kings keeping peace among the class society and also softening the contradictions among them in order to extract more surplus.

Nadu was the biggest local administrative territory. The Nattar (members of the Nadu administration) had the economic and political administrative rights on the territory, situated in one particular nadu.

Nattars and Brahmins served together to maintain peace by the caste and religious systems among the people, particularly among the peasants. The caste system mainly served the land owners as a non-economic coercive apparatus. The low caste people had to be submissive to their land-lords. This was the customary law-an unwritten code-implemented during that period.

Other workers and Products

There were non-agricultural workers such as carpenters and blacksmiths who helped to produce agricultural instruments. Salt, oil, clothes were produced. Handicrafts like vessels and other utensils were produced with various metals and clay.

Taxes

Taxes were collected on agricultural products and imported and exported things by traders. Some taxes of the lands were donated to the temples and the taxes were exempted for the temple lands.

The temple wealths were given as loans for interest to the people and local administrative bodies. Temple treasury was utilized for irrigation, digging tanks, giving loans, education, hospitals etc., and also during the periods of flood and famine. So, each and every temple functioned like a big local economic organization. Many local labourers, carpenters, blacksmiths, goldsmiths, potters, musicians, dancers, drummers, masons, washermen, weavers, garland-makers, flower gardeners, slaves etc., were attached to the temples; they were given lands as Kani and they supplied the goods or service according to their concerned products or skills.

Trade and Merchants

The mercantile guild had the trading contact with the foreign countries and Southeast Asian countries. Mamallapuram, Nagappattinam, Pumpuhar and Kanchipuram were big cities. These cities served as a Market place between the foreign goods and local goods. Many groups of the Mercantile class existed. They had their own army for their defensive and offensive activities. These armies were also utilized by the Chola kings for their war purpose with other kingdom.

The above mentioned social structure, organization and relations of production functioned in the Chola period for the production and distribution.

Asiatic Mode of Production and the Chola Society

Difference of opinions exist among scholars about the nature of the mode of production prevailed in Europe and Asian countries.

The feudal mode of production changed later into the capitalist one in Europe, but not in the Asian countries. So the question arises, why the mode of production existed in Asian countries had not transformed into Capitalistic one.

Some scholars think, that in the ancient days the state structure of ORIENTAL MONARCH had existed in India and China.

The feature of the society existed under the state structure of 'Oriental Monarch' are given below.

1. State property of land
2. Lack of juridical restraints
3. Religious substitution for law
4. Absence of hereditary nobility
5. Servile social equality
6. Isolated village communities
7. Agrarian predominance over industry
8. Public hydraulic works
9. Torrid climatic environment
10. Historical immutability

In the above mentioned society, the king ought to have the Monarchic quality. The ownership of the total lands in the territory nominally belonged to him only. There was no other chief and officials in between him and the people, the king had the responsibility for undertaking the large-scale irrigational system. So the peasants had to depend on their kings.

Marx and Engles expressed their own opinions regarding 'Oriental Monarch', that is, whether such a state structure had been existing in Asian countries or not?

Under the above mentioned discussion, they said something on 'Asiatic Mode of Production'. Some important features of their mode of production are given below:

1. Social land - owning
2. Self sufficient economy based villages. Trade and Labour existed along with agriculture
3. Low developed mode of production
4. High level State and Political changes didnot influence the villages
5. Non-developed stagnant society.

Marx had not made any exhaustive study on the Asiatic mode of production. He has just noted some of its feature based on the facts which were available to him at that time. Marx gave importance to the self-sufficient economic villages of Asian countries. He said that the Agricultural production of these villages prevailed without any notable development.

When Marx revealed his view on social structure, he included all societies which existed before the Capitalist society, under the headings of pre-capitalist mode of production. Marx opined that there must be some unity among the pre-capitalist society, eventhough they have had the differenciation.

Cathelin Calf, in her research on the Chola society has observed that there are some features of the Chola society which reflect the Asiatic Mode of production. But she hesitates to define the Chola society categorically.

The social formation of the Chola society has been defined as the feudal mode of production. Eventhough there must be some differences between the Europe and Chola mode of production, basically both of them have had the feudal mode of production.

With the classification of the above mentioned factors, we can conclude about the qualities of socio-economic structure, or political economy of the Chola society as follows:

1. Feudal mode of production dominated the production of that society.
2. Brahmins, Vellalar, Merchants and Temples existed as important land-lords.
3. Ūr, Sabha of Brahmadeya villages, Nagaram of Mercantile cities were the political base of the Cholas to protect their feudal system, and the Nadu-a large agricultural unit which existed apart from Ur, also serve their level to maintain the society's feudal formation.
4. Social divisions existed mainly based on the caste system.
5. Handicrafts and Trades developed. Foreign Trade also existed.
6. Ūr, Sabha, Nadu, Nagaram, State and Religion were acting as institutions to maintain and protect the feudal mode of production.

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A NOTE ON THE LAND SYSTEM UNDER THE EARLY PALLAVAS

S. Swaminathan

Our knowledge of the land system prior to the advent of the Pallavas is very mearge and sketchy. Sangam literatures contain references to the land grants made by the philanthropic kings to the learned poets.[1] The poet Picirāntaiyār was stated to have advised the king the rationale of just taxation without squandering the resources of the productive land.[2] We know practically nothing of the land system in the period that followed the Sangam age as the rulers of this period i.e., Kalabhras usurped the lands and set at naught the charities instituted by the early Pāṇḍya rulers.[3]

The advent of the Pallavas marked an important phase in the history of Tamilnadu. They were the pioneers and trend-setters in evolving a land system which was further developed and strengthened by the Cholas. The numerous stone and copper-plates of the Pallavas throw light on the contemporary land system.

Land was deemed as an important economic entity. Its value and utility were recognised and appreciated both by the rulers and the ruled. A perusal of the Pallava records bring to home a fact that the Pallava kings systematically nurtured a system and left a rich legacy for their successors i.e., the Cholas.

The earliest recorded references to the creation of brahmadēya and tax free land grants are found mentioned in the inscriptions[4] of the illustrious Pallava ruler Narasimhavarmaṉ I (630-660 A.D.). His inscription[5] dated in his 18th regnal year (648-A.D.) from Kiḻmuṭṭugūr, North Arcot district states that the king conferred brahmadēya status

on the dry and wet lands as well as the house possessed by a certain Saṭṭaiyaṉār of Mukkūṭūr.

This record is important in more than one way. The donee was brahmana and when his possessions such as lands and house were converted into brahmadeya he stood to gain certain rights and privileges. If it was not made a brahmadeya he had to remit both the land and house taxes. The conversion brought in its train certain rights and privillges the most important being that of tax exemption. Now he was free to cultivate the land to appropriate the proceeds for himself.

The next record,[6] undated, also belongs to the same king. It is from Tirukkaḻukkuṉṟam. It refers to the king's grant of land for conducting offerings and worship to the deity as vaḻipāṭṭuppuṟam.

In this record the suffix puṟam denotes an endowment of land apparently tax-free as normally such grants were tax-free and as the temple were not burdened with taxes, it has its own merit. The temple being a public institution and any amount of grant brought credit and also religious merit to the donee i.e., king, the temple was now left free to cultivate this land on favourable terms. What is not stated here is the loss of income as a result of tax exemption. The local assembly had to make good to the Central Government the taxes due from the temple by other means.

The next record[7] also from the same village, is of different nature. This record refers to the confirmation of land grant made to the temple by the king Narasimhavarman I which was granted earlier by his predecessor Skandasishya (c. 750. A.D.). This epigraph implies that the king possessed absolute right to resume the land donated earlier. It also reveals that the grants made earlier, needed confirmation by the reigning king if the temple wanted to hold it perpetually.

The copper-plate grant of the early Pallava ruler Skandasishya (c.750 A.D.) is an important document which contains much details of the land system of the early Pallavas. The copper-plate charter issued in his fourteenth regnal year mentions that the king instructed the

administrators of Kōṭṭam and Nāṭu to demacrate the boundaries of the village Sārugūr at Melaṭaiyāṟunāṭu (a sub-division of) Paṭuvūr-kōṭṭam along with the waste land, irrigated lands, jungles, dry and common lands, channels, embankments, causeways and all other kinds of land to a brahmana, Madhavásarman-bhattar. The donation was made by the king on the supplication made by Māvalivāṇarāyar, apparently his feudatory. The district officials kōṭṭār and nāṭṭār received the order with respect and planted stones and milk-bush. For fixing these they were led by the temple accountant and elephant. The land enclosed within the four boundaries was given. It included both fallow and cultivable lands. The donee was also exempted from the payment of taxes such as taxes on loom (taṟi), grain (kūlam), goldsmith (taṭṭarkkāṇam), healthy cow (nallā), toddy-tappers (iḷappūṭci) and house sites. The future kings were also advised to protect the charity.

This grant requires elucidation to understand its importance. The king reserved the right or it was within his discretionary power to cede any land or any village in any part of his empire. In other words the control of the king over the land in his territory and his passing on the control to the donees with the rights and privileges are reflected in the charter. He could transfer the rights at his discretion. In the grant noted above the king issued his royal order to the local authorities of Paṭuvūr - Kōṭṭam, where the ceded village Sārugūr was located. Possibly the motive behind this act of sounding the local authorities about the grant was that they were fully aware of the village its topography, lands, fertility, extent, yield and irrigation potentialities. It is noted above that the nāṭṭār employed an elephant to walk around the boundaries of the grant village. This might have been done either because the ground to be negotiated was uneven and full of bush or wood which must have been the case only if the land was undeveloped considering that now-a-days elephants are used to take the visiting sightseers around the wildlife sanctuaries which are forest land.[9] The grant village must have contained both cultivable and fallow lands. It is not unlikely, the total arable land in the village might not have been precisely defined. The kōṭṭār, nāṭṭār, and kōvil - karṇam must have had a definite idea of the boundaries of

the village and must have done the circumambulation accordingly. Hence it would appear that what was granted to the brahmana donee mentioned in the plates, was land over which no other had any claim.

Now it was the turn of the donee to get the land reclaimed and cultivated. The ceded village apart from the fallow land must have also consisted of living quarters of professionals such as weavers, goldsmith, toddy tappers, cattle breeders etc., as the taxes collected from them were permitted to be appropriated by the donee himself. Because it would enable the donee to further develop and enrich the village so ceded, and it would also enable him to pursue his occupation without hindrance.

However the charter is silent about the payment of land tax, the collection of which usually indicated the king's exercise of his control over land. Hence it appears that this tax was not exempted. The donee was to enjoy the local cesses enumerated above but to remit the main land tax to the king.

The copper-plate charter contained imprecation against the resumption of land already gifted. The quotation of such imprecatory verses naturally implied that the makers of these gifts did not reserve for themselves the right to resume the land. This imprecation was against others who were to succeed them so that they might not resume the land.

Thus the above analysis of the evidences lead to the following conclusion.

1. The king had the right to grant land as brahmadeya or devadana. The king made this charity to obtain religious merit. In case of the brahmadeya its creation would lead to economic improvement as fallow lands would be brought under plough. On the religious side the brahmanas provided legitimacy to his kingship.

2. The king did not interfere with the land rights of those who held cultivated land in their possession.

3. He could transfer the ownership of villages at his pleasure.

4. The local cesses were normally appropriated by the local chief (kō) and on transfer the king authorised the donees to enjoy them.

5. The king depended upon the body called kōṭṭār and nāṭṭār to work out the modalities of land grant, obviously they must have maintained a sort of register where all details pertaining to lands were noted. In case of land grants they had to carry out the king's command in delimiting the boundaries of donated land.

6. There was an inherent right of the ruling sovereign to resume the land granted by earlier rulers. But evidence analysed reveal that the king refrained from doing so but confirmed the earlier grants.

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IMPACT OF AGRICULTURAL DEVELOPMENT ON SOCIO-ECONOMIC CHANGES IN MEDIEVAL PERIOD

M.D. Raju Kumar

In a country, the socio-economic formation of a given era rests on its means of production and the production relations thereto. As a result of these production relations people enter into, their living pattern evolves and their socio-economic institutions comes into being. The replacement of one mode of production by another one leads to a transition from one to another higher one. The history of society witnesses the successive replacement of such socio-economic formations. From being mere food gatherers they reach the stage of food producers and in this process, we see a lot of basic changes. In fact, the origin of socio-economic institutions comes from invention of food production. So, the development of socio-economic institutions go in hand with the development of means of production and their production relations.

It is to be seen from the extant ancient literatures (Eṭṭu-t-tokai and pattu-p-pāṭṭu) that the advent of agriculture had brought about distinctive socio-economic changes from the tribal communities of that time in Tamil land. In course of time they were not contented with destruction of land and its crops captured from enemies and they gradually learnt to conserve land and its produce so that they could derive benefits out of it.[1] This process signifies the attitude of the people of that time and the importance they attached for production. They learnt to produce more by reclamation of forest and fallow lands and converted them into cultivable lands. They no longer depended on natural water courses only for irrigating their lands. Rivers and streams did go a long way for irrigation. But people soon learnt the technic of digging wells and built

tanks for storing water as the agriculture developed and food production increased.

Changes in production method had its bearing on the very life and the food habits of the people varied. Natural water sources were not sufficient for multiplying production to meet the growing demand. At any cost production should increase so the compulsion was there for reclamation of more and more land. But where was the water? In this stage man realised his goal as wells and tanks were built in large scale and throughout the length and breadth of Tamil land such water storages were adopted in full swing. They came to a stage that rain water would not be wasted.

Increased food production brought in its train improved cultivation methods, seeds, agricultural implements etc. and this progress was uninterrupted. This development had brought about two basic advancements for better living of the people. First, this agricultural technical development made way for clear division of labour. Second, the need for building requisite socio-economic institutions, arose out of agricultural development.

The advent of agriculture had already made the chieftains of the tribal people into kings who ruled over them. Besides, the need of the hour was proper maintenance of the tanks and other water systems and storage of the produce. So separate institutions were the pressing need and in this circumstance new developed socio-economic institutions sprang up in the form of kingdoms and such bodies.

The inscriptions of the Pallava and Chola periods speak about in detail the digging of wells and tanks empowered on local bodies and the growth of temples as an institution. This would testify the development of agriculture in course of time.

It is but proper that we should note the influence of geographical features on the development of agriculture. We find a new dimension in the socio-economic conditions of the people that were brought about by the agricultural development around 10th century A.D. in one part of Tamilnadu. At the same time due to lack of facilities for agricultural

development, people engaged themselves only in cattle rearing in another part. Kaveri and its branches and their stored water tanks brought fortunes for the people in the area comprising Thanjavur, Thiruchy, South Arcot, North Arcot and Chengalpattu which are evidenced by the inscriptions found there. But in the arid regions comprising Chengam and Dharmapuri the inscriptions and hero stones speak about only the heroism of those who protected livestock.[2] The Kaveri and other delta basin is not vast enough to cover major portion of the Tamil land. It is a narrow strip of Thanjavur and Pudukkottai belt of Coromandal coast. Hence we confine our study to some of the salient features of the socio-economic changes as a result of agricultural development.

The impact of agricultural development was deep enough to bring about basic socio-economic changes. First and foremost among them was the transfer of ownership rights of the reclamation of those lands.[3] The next important point that is to be noted is the evolution of local bodies for proper maintenance of irrigation tanks and other water systems to regulate the production. In this stage a new higher class called veḷḷāḷās-land owning class emerged and they built huge temples at their dewelling places and these temple institutions stamped the hallmark of the era. The agricultural surplus gave way for mercantile growth and the income out of it increased the necessity for consumer products and in turn it helped the craft production.

Rapid agricultural development gave rise to the demand for requisite implements. So, to manufacture ploughs and other related instruments, Kammalars such as carpenters and blacksmiths were settled in every village. By this settlement, each and every village was able to attain self sufficiency in getting the necessary implements for its agricultural production. This led to the development of self sufficient villages.[4] In order to protect the newly created systems and organs there emerged larger kingdoms with enlarged responsibilities.

As already noted, the growth of agriculture resulted in surplus production. This surplus produce brought basic changes in the field of art and trade.

The lands were brought under cultivation in different areas. The agricultural activities were executed wherever the water resources were sufficient and in its absence channels were dug, tanks were excavated. The people who lived a nomadic life, were moved to places of their choice to reclaim the land. With agriculture, the living condition changed and the people switched over to sedentary agriculture and cultivation occupied them. As cultivable lands were expanding by leaps and bounds, there was surplus produce bringing in its wake distinctive socio-economic change in their life. A new, powerful and elite land owning class of vel̤l̤āl̤ās emerged in various places outside the nagaram limits. During post Sangam period vaṇikars were equal in status to the kings. At that time those who engaged in agriculture were in developing stage and yet to be emerged as a wealthy class. But, after 5th century A.D., during Pallava and Chola period these land owning people emerged in a higher strata as a powerful and wealthy class in the social structure.

Thus, the developed and elite vēl̤l̤āl̤ā class could not confine in one particular locality like the mercantile community, who mostly settled in a city like Kāvērippūmpaṭṭiṉam. They migrate to all places wherever water resources and land were found. Though they were scattered and distributed in different places, the economically settled and socially emerged land owning class wanted to bring all necessary facilities and other amenities available at that period to the place of their living and there by intended to improve their standard of living. This need had its reflection in the emergence of temple organisation.

Traders were engaged in selling goods to people and doing export also. The artisans who produced these goods were very few in number. On the other hand agricultural producers depended on large section of people and their support was indispensable. The agricultural occupation required the service from labourers to that of artisans such as carpenters, blacksmiths and others. Land owners had to utilise the services of all castes, which were the product of division of labour in the process of agricultural development. So an unifying philosophy to place all sections under an umbrella was a pressing need creating an impression that all are equal before God. Saivism and Vaishnavism were apt to fill the gap

and adopted for the coverage of all sections. Economic might and its philosophy paved the way for the organised development of temple institutions.

The result of this socio-economic changes can be seen in many aspects. The new most influential land owning class wanted to bring everything that were available at that time to its place of living. So the temple helped to bring all which were enjoyed by the society in education, art, culture, medicine, science and technology. Besides, temple embraced in itself the socio-economic activities. It served as a bank for money lending, land owning organisation, godown to stock the agricultural produce and all other services were rendered.

Another noteworthy feature was the development of art. Dance performances were two fold as enumerated in Cilappatikāram.[5] A kind of dance performed in the presence of a king was vēttiyal and the other was potuviyal performed before common people. But in a temple these two sorts of performance were combined as one. The exclusive performance assigned to king and wealthy mercantile community ceased to be so. It was performed before land owning class and their people in various village temples. Dancing girls and other artists were settled in numerous temples. Raja Raja I built the famous Thanjavur big temple and he gathered dancing girls from every nook and corner and made them settle there. If the development of art is to be taken as an yardstick for determing the level of economic growth, temple and its art bear testimony for the surplus economy of the bygone days of Tamil land.

The higher economic growth resulted in the development of trade. Agricultural surplus aided two ways for trade. First, agricultural produce after meeting the local needs was diverted to market. The profit derived out of the sale of agricultural produce was utilized to purchase consumer goods in the market. This situation changed the trade pattern and traders had to be dependent on agricultural people. Moreover, economically sound traders were also highly ambitious to figure one among the wealthy landowners of the fertile region. This fact is also substantiated by innumerable inscriptions as the traders had their proprietary land.[6]

The other small traders remained under the control of the landowning veḷḷāḷa and the landowning nagarattar.[7] But traders did not grow into monopolies to control the market.[8] The artisans remained under the control of the traders. Sometimes, this kind of suppression and subordination led to violent reaction. The weavers, oil mongers, goldsmiths and potters whose products were supplied to the market for sale, earned comparatively less than the traders and the landowners. The organisations of these manufacturing sections remained very weak and less powerful as they could putforth only certain demands like the endowment of burning a perpetual lamp in the temple. These organisations had not grown into decision taking bodies for technology and production advancements. Hence productive methods remained unchanged in their usual lines.

The social or caste organisations of the manufacturers are sometimes compared to guilds of the European countries.[9] But the actual fact is that any organisation comparable with guilds did not at all emerge. Guilds were well organised organisations with rules and regulations to guide production under a controlled system. But such an organised well defined system to guide production was not prevalent here. Collective system of production was not also introduced. Guilds were responsible not only for producing implements for production but also invented technical tools such as spinning wheels, looms, weaving machines and other implements.[10] But in the Tamil land producers of agricultural implements were village dwellers living in isolation. They produced implements for agricultural needs only and their production went on traditional lines for the supply to local agriculturists and they were not meant for market. These are the basic differences compared to European guild method.

It is to be seen that agricultural implements were neither sold by the merchants nor available in the open markets. Besides, markets did not supply other means of production like oil grinders, looms, dress making machines, small tools of smiths, etc. The traders sold only food grains and consumer articles. All agricultural implements were manufactured and supplied directly to the tillers by the artisan producers

themselves. Similarly all other implements and tools used by artisans were directly supplied to them.

Besides, the artisans like carpenters and goldsmiths serving for temple construction were honoured and titles were confered on them.[11] Their salary and amenities were also higher than others.[12] But the producers of agricultural implements and other manufacturers of tools were neither encouraged nor honoured for their advanced technology and new inventions. Their labour and skill were utilised only for day to day needs and there were no encouragement and incentives for any improvements and innovations.

Production of agricultural implements was a component part of agricultural production of Tamil land. It did not develop into industrial and trade lines and they were not market commodities. It was an unexpected turn that the economic prosperity brought by the agricultural development had not resulted in industrial or trade development.

The value of many goods were denoted in terms of paddy.[13] It is to be noted here that both trade and craft production of that period were mainly depended on the agriculture oriented people. This shows that majority of the production was engaged in agriculture and other related activities.

Political system should be viewed only in this back drop. Eventhough, socio-economic changes arising out of agricultural development formed the foundation for an empire and practically an empire was existing, yet a strong administration and bureaucracy had not evolved at this juncture. Opinions differ among the scholars in this regard, but the inscriptions pinpoint at a well defined feature. Local organisations evolved themselves as administrative units in order to fulfil the day to day needs of the agricultural production. They existed in various places with little changes here and there in tune with varying time, place and production needs.

In the coromandel irrigated areas food, mostly paddy production was almost sufficient or surplus. In the hinter land no necessity arose either for food distribution or for its control. With the aid of traders

surplus produce was exchanged for requisite products at the peripheral area, where paddy was not cultivated. Maintenance of tanks, lakes, ponds and channals were the primary tasks of local bodies. Hence, in practice, the basic requirements for a centralised administration and bureaucracy had not developed with the empire at that time. However, revenue system to receive taxes and well organised military set up existed. What role it has played with the socio-economic life of the people is yet a debating point.

Agriculture played a significant role in the development and changes of the society. It is not an exaggeration to hold that the agricultural development evolved a new progressive socio-economic formation by replacing an out moded socio-economic formation of that time.

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AGRICULTURE ECONOMY IN MUKKŪṬAR PAḶḶU

R. Manuvel

Agriculture may be defined as the art, the science and the business of producing crops and livestocks for economic purposes. The farm includes science of crop and animal husbandry, horticulture, dairy, forestry, fishery etc. This paper tries to explain the elements of agricultural economy in Mukkūṭar̲ Paḷḷu.

'Mukkūṭal' is a place where three rivers join together. 'Paḷḷam' means Vally. The word 'Paḷḷar' refers to farmers. Mukkūṭar̲ Paḷḷu was one of the 96 Prabhandas in Tamil literature. This book was written in the latter half of the 17th century. The name of the author was not known. This piece of literature portrays the life of farmers in general and agricultural farming in particular.

Indian agriculture prior to the last quarter of eighteenth century was almost of subsistence type. The villages were more or less self sufficient and production was mainly for consumption. Many changes were introduced into Indian society during its medieval phase, but these didn't affect the basic design of the Indian village. The same trend was noticed in this book. The hero of the text 'Paḷḷan̲' and his family were engaged in day-today activities like land preparation, frequent tillage, manuring, sowing, transplanting, irrigating, weeding and harvesting. We understand that the farmers were well aware of the farm technology, irrigation system, maintenance of fields etc. Economic and social conditions of the farmers were also mentioned.

Land - types and preparation

Ancient Tamils divided the land into four types namely, mountainous region (Kur̲iñci), pastoral region (Mullai), agricultural region

(Marutam), and maritime region (Neytal). The same is followed during the 17th century also. Among these four regions Marutam is well known for its agricultural productions. According to the richness and the nature of the soils in Tamilnadu, the soil is divided into five types viz., Red Soil, Black Soil, Alluvial Soil, Laterite Soil and Saline alkali Soil. The farmers prepared the land for the cultivation.

The land hitherto uncultivated has been prepared for cultivation in the following manner.

1. Removal of thick jungle, bushes etc. from the raw land. The roots of the trees should be extracted and burnt. The land should thereafter be properly cleaned.
2. The land should be made level. High patches should be scrapped and depression filled.
3. The land should be divided into suitable plots by small levels.
4. Permanent supply ditches and water courses should be excavated at regular spacing which facilitate proper distribution of water to the entire field.

The above process of preparation for irrigation was mentioned in 'Mukkūṭaṟ Paḷḷu'. The hero clears the jungle and bushes and changes the dry land into wet land.[2] Afterwards he ploughes the land four times with regular intervel.[3] To make the soil more fertile he arranges 'āṭukiṭai' (the night stay of the cattles) which is used for manuring purpose.[4]

Irrigation

Irrigation is the science of planning and designing an efficient, low cost economic watering system, tailored to fit natural conditions. It is the engineering of controlling and harnessing the various natural sources of water by the construction of dams, reservoirs, canals and head works and finally distributing the water to the agricultural fields.

Well planned Irrigation system was noticed from the text. It seems minor dams, farm ponds, dug wells were constructed by well known Jamindars of Madurai and Tanjore districts called Vadamalaiyappa

Pillai.[5] To avoid flood damage, preventive measures were in use. Surplus weir and control dams were also constructed across the canal.[6] This dam was situated in an elevated area, so that the flood velocity may be arrested.

Before constructing a dam or pond a mark should be fixed in the site, so that the pond may be dugout and the excavated earth filled in the marked area. The bund formation should be in between the two marks. The mark stone (Tiruvāḻikkal) mentioned here was installed at the site. This shows that proper irrigation planning was undertaken during the time of 'Mukkūṭaṟ Paḷḷu'.

Farm Technology

The farm technology seems to be primitive and traditional. It is rather surprising to note that this practice of traditional technology was followed since a very long period. The nature of farming technology found in Sangam Literature and Tirukkuṟaḷ etc. are repeatedly uttered in the successive literatures till 17th century. Because of the limited population, non-commercialisation of agriculture the lack of interest of the governments in the development of the farmers and less scientific knowledge there was stagnation of technology in agriculture. But, to meet the demands of the people, available resources were utilised in the farm, of man power and animal power.

As already stated the preparation of land, four times of tillages with regular interval, protection from soil erosion, wind erosion etc., were known to the farmers. Six types of best varieties of bullocks were engaged in tillage purposes[7] and the mechanism of tillage and their working pattern are also explained briefly.[8]

Crop Rotation

It implies that nature of the crop sown in a particular field is changed year after year. Necessity for rotation arises from the fact that soil gradually losses its fertility, if the same crop is sown every year and the field has to be cultivated with different types of crops. ex.

1. Paddy, 2. Banana, 3. Sugarcane rotation. The above said knowledge of crop rotation is known to the farmers.

Crop and Marketing

Cultivation of paddy was the major crop described in the text. More than 35 varieties of paddy and their qualities are mentioned. Cash crop like sugarcane was cultivated. Fruits and vegetables like mango, banana, jack fruits and turmeric, ginger etc. are referred respectively. Oil seeds like coconut cultivation was also mentioned. Overall cultivation of commercial crops are not given much importance.

Less information was available about the agricultural and other marketing. Lack of transportation and communication may be the reasons for the poor marketing and trade. However, cattle sales, purchase of seeds, buying tillage materials are prevalent. Ware housing facilities are not found. Though the use of money existed the exchange of the same was not discussed. For all practical purposes farmers followed the barter system. (Paṇṭamāṟṟu Muṟai)

Agrarian relation

The land lord called Paṇṇaiyār was the supreme authority for the agricultural farm. Vast area was under his control. He selects limited farm labourers and entrusts them the responsibility of the entire farming business. He leads luxurious life and has the authority to punish the farm labourers.

The entire family of farm labourers are working in the fields. Inspite of their collective efforts they didn't get their due share from the yield. Their life style was confined to the state of slavery.

Thorner Alice while explaining the status of the farm labourers said that they were hereditary bond servants who generally received less share. Through custom, compulsion or specific obligation the bond labourer was tied to his masters need.[9] This was true in the case of Paḷḷaṉ in 'Mukkūṭar paḷḷu'. The environment and other factors also affect the development of the farmer. Each labourer has got atleast two wives

and many children. Neither healthy food nor proper accommodation was available for them. They spend the meagre share without any future plan and starve at times.

In the history of agriculture the book 'Mukkūṭaṟ Paḷḷu' was a milestone. Agricultural information narrated in this text was laudable. This is the last work which stands as an ample example of traditional agriculture. There were no signs of scientific technology. But the farmers made use of the available resources effectively. A careful study of the text reveals the farmer's skill in maintaining the irrigation system and the successful cultivation of high yield crops. Though the relationship between the landowner and the labourers was not appreciable, tension did not prevail there.

To shift our attention to the present day problems is essential. Due to lack of time and involvement in the subject I could suggest only the basic information in connection with the present day issues and the probable solutions.

Some of the issues connected with agriculture are as follows

1. Enormous population growth
2. Drought, flood and famine
3. Aggressions and wars
4. Unemployment
5. Land reform
6. Illiteracy
7. Investment
8. Five Year Plan
9. National interest.

Solutions for the improvement of the Individual farmers:

1. Security of tenure
2. Security to minimise the risk and uncertainties in agricultural productions through price supports
3. Elimination of middle traders
4. Provision of marketing facilities and credit institutions

5. Strengthening of extension services
6. Better motivation of farmers
7. Improvement in physical supplies of superior inputs
8. Incalculating of administrative integrity.[10]

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"OPPURAVU" THE SOCIO-ECONOMIC SYSTEM OF THE TAMILS

S. Shanmuga Sundaram

"Economics" concerns with human society of its production, supply and consumption systems of goods and services. The systems are not unique for all societies and for all times. They are many. By origin they are society specific. They also underwent changes over period in accordance to the nature of changes that occurred in the societies. Each system has its own merits and demerits; however each system is good in its own society. But towards the approach of 20th century all native systems moved for convergence being instigated by the powerful politics of the West. Consequently two systems emerged called Capitalism and Socialism. All other systems are being described as a variant of these two systems. These systems namely Capitalism and Socialism are basically native to West. They could have suited to Western societies but not to non-Western especially oriental societies. There may be instances of the systems showing compatibility in exotic societies. They are apparent but not true. The apparent compatibility is the result of appropriate modification made to the systems and such modifications are made in consonance to the traits of the society concerned.

Diversity is the law of nature for survival and sustainability. The law is believed as operative in biological systems only, but it is universal and therefore operative to economic systems as well. Therefore adoption of uniform systems for all types of societies is unnatural and inoperative. Many of the regional economic ills of the world as witnessed today, is because of not adopting that specific system suitable for the region.

While taking India for this analysis we have ample doses of problems resulting from applications of capitalistic or socialistic economic systems. Even though certain modifications are attempted here and there they did not work well and consequently the systems have not yielded the desired results of benefits. More often than not concentrated and repeated exercises are performed to make modification to the systems and applied. Favourable signs are not forth coming. Now a question can be raised as to why should at all we adopt the exotic systems into our society. Don't we have a system of our own? Necessarily every society would have formed a system for the production, distribution and consumption of goods and services. No society could ever exist nor survive without a system for economics. If so what is that indigenous system and what it is named of? Atleast we know there was an indigenous economic system in this Tamil speaking region of our country and it is known as "OPPURAVU".

In this paper I am making a brief introduction of the economic system "OPPURAVU". This introduction includes a comparative analysis with those exotic capitalistic and socialistic systems.

The term "OPPURAVU" finds its reference in many ancient Tamil literatures in few occasions. But the revealed concepts are very widely referred in them. Nevertheless, a more or less detailed exposition is made by Tiruvaḷḷuvar in his world renowned ethical treatise, Tirukkuṟaḷ. He has devoted one full chapter, captioned as "Understanding OPPURAVU". The meaning of the word "OPPURAVU" is one of the few concepts found in Tamil literature which could not be fully explained. The earlier commentators of Tirukkuṟaḷ differed in explaining this concept. Some relate it to "Helping people", "Offering to needy people", "Living acceptabily to the world" etc. These explanations are only small, partial explanations but not whole.

The correct description is close to "Understanding the worldly order, the order which ensures strength enshrined in equality".

Tiruvaḷḷuvar gives disposition of the concept "OPPURAVU" through saying,

What it is like?

கைம்மாறு வேண்டா கடப்பாடு மாரிமாட்
டென்னாற்றுங்கொல்லோ வுலகு

How great it is?

புத்தே ளுலகத்து மீண்டும் பெறலரிதே
ஒப்புரவி னல்ல பிற

What if not?

ஒத்த தறிவா னுயிர்வாழ்வான் மற்றை யான்
செத்தாருள் வைக்கப்படும்

What value it has?

ஊருணி நீர்நிறைந் தற்றே யுலகவாம்
பேரறி வாளன் றிரு

பயன்மர முள்ளூர்ப் பழுத்தற்றாற் செல்வம்
நயனுடை யான்கட் படின்

மருந்தாகித் தப்பா மரத்தற்றாற் செல்வம்
பெருந்தகை யான்கட் படின்

Who are to practise it?

இடனில் பருவத்து மொப்புரவிற் கொல்கார்
கடனறி காட்சி யவர்

and How to practise it?

நயனுடையா னல்கூர்ந்தா னாதல் செயுநீர
செய்யா தலைகலா வாறு

ஒப்புரவி னால்வருங் கேடெனி னஃதொருவன்
விற்றுக்கோட் டக்க துடைத்து

The apparent central theme brought out in the above discussion is the distribution of riches into the Society. It is significant to note that while saying it, it has not singled out as recipient any specific category or section of the society. Instead it is to be like rain as it does not make difference between the type of land; like rain which does not expect any reciprocation from the receivers; like rain which showers because it cannot but do it and because it can no longer hold further. It

means that the distribution of riches is automatic and natural. "OPPURAVU" is not distribution of wealth alone. It is not only all about economics but all of social system as well. In other words "OPPURAVU" is a holistic Socio-Economic concept of Tamils.

A comparative analysis with capitalism and socialism is furnished in a tabular form : (see following page)

This analysis reveals that "OPPURAVU" is made eco-friendly and humanity-friendly unlike others. Notwithstanding this native excellent system has become defunct in its own motherland. Institutions which safeguarded the operations of the systems have been buried, demolished or swept away, by the forceful entry of the western systems brought by the foreigners. The great technological and scientific advancement that happened in the western world overshadowed many great traditions and forms of life of the oriental societies; "OPPURAVU" is one of the great loss we have sustained.

Now a need has arisen to revive our "OPPURAVU" system replacing the imitations of capitalism and socialism. The revival per force has to begin from villages.

CAPITALISM	SOCIALISM	OPPURAVU
1. Not based on ethics. "Economics has no ethics" is the dictum stressed in this system.	Same as capitalism	It is based on ethics.
2. Primarily concerned with economic development. It believes that social welfare is taken for granted with economic development.	Primarily concerned with social welfare it argues that economic development to be subordinated to social welfare.	Concerned with social welfare and economic development simultaneously. It believes that both are inseparable.
3. Distribution of riches is effected by the force of market only.	Distribution of riches is effected by the force of State.	Distribution of riches is effected by both market system and ethical system simultaneously.
4. The dynamics of economic system works on "Competition of winning", among all subjects of the society.	The dynamics of economics system works through planning, monitoring and control by the State.	The dynamics of the economic system works on co-operation for co-existence among all subjects of society.

CAPITALISM	SOCIALISM	OPPURAVU
5. Individuality is the first preserve of the system.	Individuality is the first casuality of the system.	Individuality is maintained.
6. Being market based it is urban baised.	Urban or rural has very little bearing to the system.	Being ethical based it is rural baised.
7. Makes rich people, not necessarily the State rich.	Makes State rich not necessarily the people.	Makes people rich not necessarily the State.
8. The divide between rich and poor is wide and the fruits of the riches are not readily available to the poor.	The divide between rich and poor is meagre but the fruits of riches are not necessarily available to both.	The divide between rich and poor is less and the fruits of riches are readily available to the poor.
9. It is Eco-exploitative.	It could be either Eco-exploitative or Eco-conservative	It is Eco-friendly.

CAPITALISM	SOCIALISM	OPPURAVU
10. The planning process is centric spontaneous and simultaneous.	Planning process is top-down, neither spontaneous nor simultaneous.	The Planning process is bottom up simultaneous and spontaneous.
11. It creates wealthy economics unhappy societies and weak States.	It creates weak economics unhappy societies and strong States.	It creates healthy economics happy societies and weak States.
12. It leads to evolution of society through competition between people in the society.	It leads to revolution through war between people in the society.	It leads to evolution through co-existence among all people in the society.



THE TEXTILE INDUSTRY IN THE TAMIL COUNTRY UNDER THE BRITISH

P. Subramanian

The textile industry in the Tamil country was at its zenith during the Vijayanagar period and even after. They were exported to many foreign countries, especially to England in large quantities which to the English, were like a bear with a sore head. The British government in order to foster their own industries had to enact a number of laws in 1700, 1720 and 1721 to prohibit the influx of Indian goods for which laws proved of little or no avail. Since there was a great demand for such goods, the company unmindful of such moves, encouraged this industry, formed weaver's colonies near their settlements, advanced money to the weavers and exported the goods to many foreign countries including to its own country. Under its patronage, the industry grew leaps and bounds, till the industrial revolution totally upset it.

Internal feuds and conflicts that were due to the British domination also greatly hampered the free growth of textile industry. There were occasions when this industry was completely suspended due to political turmoil and incessant internal wars. A close study of the Commercial despatch from England will testify to the fact that the Third Mysore war (1792) had greatly upset the weaving industry. The company's annual investment of piece goods which was 16 lakhs of pagoda (56 lakhs of rupees) in 1790 was only 12 lakhs in 1796 owing to the war which had greatly disrupted the internal trade and production.[1]

After the Fourth Mysore war, the company became paramount and subsequently internal trade flourished. The report of external commerce (1805) reveals that there was a brisk trade between India and England, and as a result, the piece goods worth about Rs.29,99,721

were exported.[2] It is a fact that any industry could not thrive on externl trade alone. Equally or more important than external trade was internal which alone would sustain any industry as foreign trade was undependable. Other than goods exported, internal consumption of cotton goods should have been considerable. Dodwell, an authority on weaving industry, considers the proportion of the exports to total production as 1 :10.[3] If this estimate is accepted, the internal consumption of cotton goods would be about 75 million rupees. Even, if it is reduced to half, as Sarada Raju argues, its worth would not be less than 30 million rupees.[4] This indicates that cotton manufacturers were very extensive even at the beginning of the 19th century. But within two decades, tables were turned due to the industrial revolution. India became a market for the machine made products of Great Britain with no external trade worth the name. Their factories were also closed down one by one and finally the Board of Trade which was responsible for the company's trade was also done away with. In 1824 with this the foreign investment in Indian cotton goods ceased and subsequently the predominance of the textile industry became a thing of the past.

The plight of the weavers became so pathetic that the Board of Revenue in 1818, initiated an inquiry which revealed the fact that the loss of patronage was the main cause of their misery but the company was convinced that the loss of official patronage might be compensated by the growing prosperity of the country by other means like commercialisation of agriculture and partial industrialisation.

The government expected that the prosperity of the peasantry would lead to the affluence of the weaving community which never happened due to the oppressive policy of the company. Not only the tillers but also the weavers groaned under the dead weight of oppressive taxation which almost ruined them. On manufactured piece goods a duty of 5% was imposed. Besides a duty of 5% on the raw material, 7 1/2% on yarn, 2 1/2% on the manufactured articles and another 2 1/2% on the cloth dyed outside the place of its manufacture or in all 17 1/2% was imposed.[5] On the other hand, British piece goods were exempted

from such oppressive taxes. As a result of such unequal patronage and compensation, the weaving industry declined.

As already mentioned, in 1824, the Board of Trade was abolished and with it many factories of the company were closed. But the Board of Revenue was very optimistic and were of the view that "whatever temporary inconvenience might be experienced by the weavers we do not apprehend any serious or permanent injury to the prosperity of the country from the abolition of the factories."[6] The Board of Revenue was wrong in its estimate. The weavers in almost all districts were affected by the closure of the factories which "inflicted a fearful glow" on them. Abbe Dubois was an eye witness to it and pitied the weavers and said, misery and desolation prevailed everywhere and thousands of weavers died of hunger in different parts of the country.[7] Many of them, out of despair and disappointment migrated to Ceylon, Burma and Mauritius.

In 1844, an inquiry initiated by the Board of Revenue to assess the collection of Moturpha or loom tax, throws much light on weaving industry. The weaver once "to be sought and honoured by advances and good payment, now, though he seeks the trader and volunteers to work for reduced hire, he meets frequent disappointment, the merchant declining to embark capital in a sinking trade."[8] Due to economic depression and its concomitant effects, there was no demand for their products. The peasants who were exploited most also did not have means to buy their goods. As a result of such economic depression, the price fell from Rs.6 per piece in 1815 to Rs.3.80 in 1844 and the profit from 1 or 2 rupees to 8 or 4 annas.[9] In many places, they were thrown out of work and many of them, due to such a sad plight did not have means to take more than one meal of rice a day.[10] It was no longer a marvel to be favoured or patronised as mill made goods reduced it to insignificance.

In the latter part of the 19th century, things changed rapidly from bad to worse. In addition to foreign machine made goods, frequent famines wrought untold havoc to the weavers. The sad plight of them

had compelled the government of Madras to institute an inquiry to assess the condition of weavers in detail. The Board which conducted the inquires twice, one in 1871 and the other in 1890 came to the conclusion that the chief cause of the decline of the industry was the competition with the mill industry. In 1871, the number of looms at work was nearly, 2,80,000 or nearly 42% higher than the number at work between 1856-57 and 1860-61.[11] The returns for the entire years were considered to be imperfect and hence the Board fixed the real increase at between 20 and 25% and felt the increase was due to the abolition of the Moturpha tax. In 1889, the number of looms at work was ascertained to be 3,00,000 exhibiting an increase since 1871 of 7% while the increase in population was 14%.[12] Since 1871, the out turn of handmade yarn had therefore, diminished by 22 1/2%. It is to be noted that while the handmade yarn had diminished by 22 1/2%, the dependence on weaving industry had increased by 7% since 1871. From the above fact, it can be inferred that Foreign trade and Indian mills had affected the old manufacturing industries and impoverished the classes engaged in them. Srinivasaraghavaiangar also accepts that "the spinning and weaving trades, especially have suffered severely from foreign competition and the former as a seperate profession is rapidly disappearing, what remain of it being confined to the spinning of fine thread for cloths of superior texture and extreme tenuity such as could not be produced by machinery and of coarse thread for the coarse thick cloths woven for the use of the lower classes of the agricultural population."[13]

Even in the 20th century, though weaving industry had lost its importance, it was still the premier industry next to agriculture. Srinivasaraghavaiangar in his memorandum submitted to the government made an estimate of the total number of factories in the Madras Presidency in 1889-90. To him, the total number of factories was 179 and the total number of people who worked in these factories was 14, 565. The percentage was very negligible (0.004%) i.e. the people who worked in factories were 4 out of 10,000. From this it can easily be inferred that even at the end of the 19th century, the people mainly relied either on agriculture or handloom industry for their livelihood. Severe

famines that broke out now and then had been a serious source of distress which again induced the Board to conduct inquiries to know the real situation. On seeing the reports of the collectors, the Borad of Revenue in 1884 appointed special officers to appraise the condition of the weaving community. The special officers, E.B. Havell, Edgar Thurston and Edwin Molder, in their reports brought out the deplorable condition of the weavers. Havell, in his report (1884), says, "the handloom industry which was formerly producing an abundance of silk and cotton cloths, satins, muslins, silver and gold lace etc. was now showing unmistakable signs of decline and decay. It was suffering much from the competition daily growing stronger of the deep English cotton goods have being poured into the country."[14] This, according to him, was mainly due to large scale importation of English piece goods which virtually ruined the indigenous industries.[15]

Economic policy of the rulers was the main cause of such a plight. After the Industrial Revolution, Britain transferred India into a colonial market for their finished goods. Improved means of transport and communication accelerated the process of colonisation. To accelerate the growth of their own industries, they levied a nominal duty on their goods. But Indian goods were subjected to heavy import duties in Britain which actually retarded its growth. With heavy internal custom duties, they discouraged Indian industries and trade in all possible ways. For their own benefit, they also carefully stood against the process of modernisation and Industrialisation of India which they feared would ruin their interest and prosperity. The deliberate policy of exploitation had greatly ruined indigenous industries, especially textile.

The native courts also like wise lost their splendor and magnificence. The native chieftains and princes who were the main patrons of those industries were reduced to insignificance. They did not evince any interest in the promotion of native industires, which due to lack of support and patronage languished. In short their decline became inevitable due to historical circumstances which in many a way, were adverse to Indian interest.

FOOT NOTES

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THE ECONOMIC RESURGENCY AND SWADESHI EFFORTS IN TAMILNADU 1900 - 1910

N. Rajendran

In this paper an attempt has been made to provide three important dimensions of the economic resurgence in Tamil Nadu.

1. The first part deals with a survey of economic situation of Tamil nadu prior to 1900, which necessarily provided a springboard effect for economic resurgence.
2. Subsequently, the indigenous financial mobilisation is traced.
3. Finally, the efforts to improve the economic condition in Tamilnadu during Swadeshi Movement is attempted.

In this paper the term Madras is used to indicate the Tamil linguistic areas. Such an attempt has been made to avoid historical anachronism. However, for empirical analysis, as far as possible, the linguistic boundaries of Tamilnadu are taken into consideration.

I

A review of the economic situation of Tamilnadu prior to 1900 will provide clues for the strong desire for economic resurgence.

Tamilnadu, like the rest of India, had been predominantly an agricultural region.

The extent to which the agricultural population was affected during 1897-1904 could be understood from the extend of indebtedness of agriculturalists and also the extent of lands mortgaged by them.[1]

The most severe calamity experienced by Tamilnadu since the beginning of 1800 was the famine of 1876-1878.[2]

The famine situation forced the people in large numbers to seek green pastures outside the country. From Thanjavur, the rice bowl of Tamilnadu alone, the estimated emigration during the decade 1891-1901 was 2,08,000, "a movement little in vogue previously." People in search of better living conditions were lured by the hands of the coolie recruiters.[3]

Bharathi painfully observed in the Tamil weekly India "famine conditions and relief camps have become almost permanent institutions since famine has come to stay in our country."[4] The famines had a telling effect on the prices of consumer goods.

A government report, after taking into account the industrial progress since 1896 pronounced in 1901, "progress in industries had been slow and almost insignificant."[5] Among the traditional industries, weaving was in a bad state. At the dawn of the twentieth century the weavers were always in poverty and debt.

According to Edgar Thurston repeated references had been made by E.B. Havell in the articles titled The Industries of Madras and The Printed Cotton Industries of India, published in the Journal of India Art (1888 & 1890).[6] These articles have pointed out the decline of the indigenous cotton fabric industry, and the degree to which it had suffered from European competition.

The Industrial situation of Tamilnadu is understood from the reply sent from Madras Government to the Atkinson's Report received from Government of India regarding assessment of industrial training.

The need for technical knowledge in higher industrial pursuits in order to compete with the foreign goods was felt essential for the resurrection of native goods.

II

During the swadeshi movement the Indian capital was actively mobilised for industrial revival.

The best organised of all indigenous capitalists in Tamilnadu were the Nattukottai Chettiars.

Besides industrial enterprises, the Chettiars also promoted and were associated with a number of modern joint stock companies and banks. The Indian Bank Ltd., established as early as 1907, after the failure of Arbuthnot & Co., was backed by Chettiar finance to a large extent.

Along with the Arbuthnot crash the hard-earned money of the National Fund perished with the ill-fated bank.

Finally, in April 1907 the swadeshi bank was registered in the name of Indian Bank Limited. At the end of the year 1909 the Indian Bank made a net profit of Rs.74,068/-68.[7] Confidence was instilled into the financiers to invest in swadeshi ventures. Thus, chiefly owing to the exertions of V.O. Chidambaram Pillai, the Branch Bank of Southern India has been set up in January 1908 at Tuticorin. Sundra Sastri became the president of the Bank and local vakils became the directors.[8] Thus the Indian capital was mobilised and effectively used in developing indigenous banking and industry.

III

The swadeshi spirit opened the eyes of the people to the growing importance of patronising indigenous goods in preference to foreign goods. A swadeshi pamphlet circulated in Tiruchirapalli explained to the people the importance of Swadeshism explicitly.

"The swadeshi movement demands our earnest and immediate attention, as that is the only means of reviving our drooping national industries that are being smothered out of existence by the grasping hold of foreign competition."[9]

The swadeshi spirit lured the Tamilnadu merchants to invest their capital in establishing swadeshi firms. The capital of these establishments did not exceed a few thousand, rupees. The first outcome of the swadeshi feeling was the establishment of the Swadesapanda Vyapapra Salai (Tiruchirapalli National Emporium) a joint stock company on the swadeshi lines in Tiruchirapalli. Similarly, the Indian Industrial Company Ltd., was started at Esplanade in Madras city in October 1905.[10] The Madras Chrome Leather Industry Limited, yet another swadeshi enterprise, was the direct sequel to the establishments of the Indian Industrial Company.[11]

The seeds of National Fund has been sown as early as 1883. The founding of the National Fund coincided with the idea of industrial revival which attained a definite shape in 1901.

Holding of the Industrial Exhibition at Madras was unique because the idea of an exhibition of industries in India was first conceived by Lord Harris, the Governor of Madras, with the object of encouraging useful production of all kinds in agriculture, machinery, manufacture and arts.

It was considered that this was the first ever exhibition held in India. Thus Tamilnadu has the honour of taking lead in this matter.

These exhibitions aimed at widening people's knowledge of the various industries and encouraged the skilled workmen in producing works of rare beauty and of practical utility. The third exhibition of this series was held at Madras along with the 1903 Annual Session of the Congress.

The Cathedral House in Teynampet was chosen as the site for the exhibition. The exhibition proved useful in many ways. This had greatly helped in opening up new markets and showed the advantage of a direct negotiation between the producer and the consumer. It was obvious that the two preceding exhibitions differed from 1903 exhibition in as much as they were organised, managed and conducted exclusively by Englishmen, backed by full government machinery. Whereas the 1903 exhibition was indigenously organised and managed by Indians. Even the

exhibits were, as far as possible, of indigenous manufacturers. For the first time a firm step was taken to improve industrial activity in Tamilnadu.

It was chiefly through the exertions of G. Subramania Iyer, the National Fund attained its respectability.

G. Subramamia Iyer's persuasive speech made the Tanjoreans to form a society to collect National Fund in Thanjavur town. The town was divided into three wards for the student volunteers who formed four groups to look after the collections. Likewise, National Fund was successfully collected at Madurai, Coimbatore, Salem, Palamcottach and Tirunelveli.[12] Especially at the latter place V.O. Chidambaram Pillai, canvassed along with Swadeshi Steam Navigation Company's shares for National Fund.[13]

The fund aimed at the development of indigenous industries by the application of modern scientific methods.

To make industrial regeneration a reality another association called the National Fund and Industrial Association was formed.[14]

The National Fund and Industrial Association not only had constructive plans but implemented them successfully too.

Besides, periodic swadeshi goods exhibitions were held at Kanchipuram, Tirunelveli, Madurai, Tiruchirapalli and Madras. On 2 and 3 March 1908 at the premises of the School of Arts, Madras, the All-India Weaving Competition was held under the auspices of the National Fund and Industrial Association.

A characteristic feature of the National Fund had been it's association with government. The government gave substantial help to conduct the All-India Weaving Competition.

However the government had a watchful eye on the swadeshi enterprises established in various districts of Tamilnadu. The District Collectors despatched periodical reports concerning swadeshi industries.[15]

As long as the native capital was invested in small and medium scale industries without affecting the interests of European ventures, the swadeshi enterprises encountered no opposition. The moment the native capital was mobilised and invested in ventures in competition to European industries, the swadeshi enterprises had to face stiff and at times cut throat competition. The Swadeshi Steam Navigation Company started by the untiring efforts of V.O. Chidambaram Pillai is a classic example in this regard. Thus the swadeshi enterprises had to face non-governmental competition on the one hand, and on the other government's unfriendly measures. Consequently, pursuing purely economic aims became impossible and economic regeneration and political struggle inseparably intertwined.

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V.O.C'S VIEWS ON ECONOMICS

T.N. Vallinayagam

Chidambaram Pillai immortalised under the magnetic initials V.O.C. was a staunch freedom fighter during the freedom struggle. He had imbibed the spirit of freedom and threw himself heart and soul into the historical movement for independence. He was born on 6th September 1872 at Ottapidaram a small village in erstwhile Tirunelveli District (Now the place lies in Tutukudi District). He studied at the St. Xaviers School and the Caldwell High School both in Tuticorin. After Matriculation he studied law and set up legal practice in Tuticorin. From 1900 onwards he was deeply involved in politics and he addressed a number of meetings in which he advocated Swadeshi to hate everything that was alien. The sedition law took V.O.C., also a victim. He was arrested, tried and sentenced for life on a charge of sedition. He was the first Indian to be sentenced for life on a charge of sedition which was later reduced to six years by the High court. He was put in condemned cell on 9th July 1908 and released only after 1912. He spent the terms of imprisonment in Coimbatore and Cannanore jails. He was made to drag the country oil expeller. His sufferings in the jail are well known facts and found a place in the history of freedom fighters.

This is a brief narration of his profile. Now we can see the other side of his life which would disclose his acumen in economic affairs.

India is a country which is rich for its natural resources. There are wide ranges of beautiful mountains like snow bound Himalayas, evergreen Vindhyas Western and Eastern ghats. It is surrounded by vast sea on her three sides. There are perennial rivers like Ganges, Brahmaputra, Narmada, Godhavari, Krishna and Cauvery flowing across the country;

she has enormous wealth of natural resources; availability of mineral deposits and spices like pepper, cloves, ginger and cardamom is abundant. The fertility of our country therefore, no wonder, attracted foreigners to have their eyes on us.

Alexander the great, an unparalleled warrior of his time won many lands and invaded our territory. He defeated porus (Purushothaman) but he had to leave our country as desired by his soldiers. Gazni Mohamed marched on various northern parts of our country several times and returned to his country taking away all kinds of wealth including precious stones, gold and silver jewelleries. Many foreigners invaded our country but they did not make any attempts for colonisation. Babar the great Moghul emperor who defeated his enemies, however, was able to establish his kingdom and his dynasty which ruled Hindustan until the taking over of the administration by the English. The Europeans were only fortune seekers of Indian commodities which were in great demand in European market. The Europeans started sailing to India, but their, purpose, particularly the purpose of the English was only to develop their, trade activities. They came to India not to invade or to conquest, but to have avenue for their commercial venture. Due to the internal quarrels between the native rulers the East India Company, a Commercial concern gradually annexed our territories to their domain and ultimately the English Monarch became our ruler. Traders became rulers. The very existence of a foreign rule helped the growth of national sentiment among the people. There was a clash between the British interest in India and those of the Indians. The British conquered India to promote their own interests and they ruled over India with that object in mind. With the passage of time there was a realisation in India which brought bitterness against foreign rule and that was responsible for the growth of the nationalist movement. There was a lot of discontentment in the country on account of many causes and that discontentment gave a stimulus to the growth of the nationalist movement. The masses suffered from economic troubles the middle class from the bugbear of unemployment. The economic system of India was adjusted to the needs of the welfare of England. The interests of the natives were ignored.

Blunt, rightly points out, that the vice of Indian finance was that the Finance Minister of India looked more to the interests of Great Britain than to those in India. The European masters regarded the Indians as the helots of the land, the hewers of wood and drawers of water. When the national movement was active, many people including the intelligentia, the peasants, the artisans, the workers all played their part in the freedom struggle. V.O.C. had an extra urge to enter into a different arena. He thought starting a navigation company would be formidable economic check to the foreign influence in the navigation enterprise. He was settled in Tuticorin a port town. Export and import of goods like onions, chillies, fishes were made and British navigation company undertook the passage of passengers and cargo between Tuticorin and Colombo. Naturally V.O.C. had an inherent ambition to engage himself in the Navigational enterprise. While others engaged in agitations and other means to achieve the freedom, he had chosen entirely a different approach which was based on trade and commerce. It showed how he was interested in economic affairs. He considered it as a form of national service.

He translated his mind into action. He floated a corporate enterprise "the Swadeshi Steam Navigation company", in 1906. This was a daring move for its day, something extraordinary for a lawyer even to dream about but he made it a reality. It attracted a good deal of the sea traffic between Tuticorin and Colombo though there was a stiff competition from the foreign company which was under the patronage of the Government.

When he explained the objectives of the steamship company in the course of a lecture he addressed, he observed "this company is not merely commercial in motive. These ships will help the British leave the country with bags and baggages. His efforts in starting the company served double purposes one in the political field and another in economic field. The capital was to be 10 lakhs rupees raised by the issue of 40,000 shares at Rs. 25 each. The company had 15 directors and V.O.C. was the Assistant Secretary, Messrs HAR Hajee Fakir Mohamedsaid was Secretary (He ceased to be the Secretary in November 1906).

The objectives were as follows:

1. To run ships enabling a carefree and comfortable journey from Tuticorin and Colombo and also to other places as instructed by the company for the passengers and to earn through cargo movement.
2. The Indians, Ceylonese and others belonging to the Asian continent were to be trained in the navigational profession and to enable them to enjoy the benefit.
3. To train the above mentioned people in the ship building industry.
4. To foster unity amongst all races and classes of people belonging to the Asian continent through this means.
5. To have continuity in business appointment of agents in various places in the Asian continents.
6. To build yards in the sea coast for harbouring steamers steam launches and boats and able to repair them if needed.
7. To undertake such other business and handicrafts as determined by the company management.

It is really a pleasant surprise to know how V.O.C. had foresight, determination, vast knowledge while he involved in an adventure. His deep interest in economic field also was reflected when he was engaged in the new venture. 'S.S. Galeo' and 'S.S. Laro' were purchased in pause. However fate had its say.

In the course of time, he was sentenced to undergo imprisonments for treason.

The British administration under the pressure of the British Navigation Company gave all kinds of trouble to the Swadeshi company. The Company was running at a loss. While he was under trial prisoner he wrote a letter to the Company on 9-6-1908 which reads as follows:

"Brothern I am in prison now, I don't know what would happen to me tomorrow. I know your are all interested in me; what needs your concern and consideration is our shipping company. The company was

not started with a view to make profit to be shared by the share holders. It is the sacred duty to cherish the company. It has become a prey to the mechanisation enemies. It is shame to us. If the company survives the trials and turbulations, then it is not the victory for the share holder, it is a victory of the patriotism. It is a normal gain to Mother India".

A perusal of the above letter would reveal how he was deeply involved in the promotion of the company he established. He wrote the letter when he was in police Custody. It shows how he was determined in his patriotism though he was in distress. Inspite of his endeavour to run the company, the directors were unable to co-operate with him due to the fear of alien rule. With the result the company, an ambitious project ceased to function. The irony was that it had to sell its ship to the British Company.

However it established a valid proof for the ambition of V.O.C. in entering into commercial fields to compete with the foreign companies. It is an eternal memorial and tribute to V.O.C. for his adventurous patriotism.

In his earlier days, he started a branch of Jana Sangh at Tuticorin. It opened a school to impart instructions in handicrafts and organised native financial institutions.

V.O.C. evinced a very keen interest in literature also. He had a passion for translating the works of James Allen which was published under the Title "Valimaikku Mārkkam". It contains a passage about the story of two persons with different attitudes. They earned money by their hard work for several years from their childhood. Then they lost it. One was upset over it and started murmuring; another had a strong belief and hope that he would earn money back by his effective efforts. He became rich by his strenuous hard work while the former became poor and never regained from his poverty. Loss of money caused misery in one's life whereas it became a source of strength to another".

According to V.O.C. strong faith and hope are necessary to regain loss. We need not nurse any grievance or worry over any loss, we

must always think what we are to do in future. This seems to be the policy of V.O.C. He was a great thinker. He was a great patriot. He was a scholar. Above all, he was an economist interested in fiscal affairs; which he believed a source of strength for development of our country.

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ECONOMIC THOUGHTS OF THIRU.VI.KA.

P. Mahalingam

Thiru. Vi. Kalyanasundaranar (1883-1953), the reputed Tamil scholar and social thinker, was born in the last quarter of nineteenth century when India was suffering from the bondage of imperialist rule. It was only natural for Thiru. Vi.Ka. who took a remarkable part in the struggle for Independence, to bestow his attention on various aspects of our social life and express his views on them so as to reorganise and reorient our society. It may be said without fear of contradiction that his economic thoughts occupy an important place among his thoughts belonging to various branches of life. The aim of this paper is, to put forth in a nutshell, the economic thoughts of Thiru. Vi.Ka., which can act as a powerful force not only in raising Tamilnadu or Bharath but the entire human society to great levels of prosperity and happiness.

The importance of wealth in the mundane world, the part played by production of goods in individual and social life, the consequences of the desire to have excess wealth, the various struggles of the society having their origin in the inequalities of wealth - ownership, waging an incessant struggle for various social rights - especially the rights of women and the labourers, new thoughts on Marxism, emphasis on "Sanmarga Samarasm", an analysis of Marxist Gandhist thoughts and the greatness of Marxist Gandhist thought combination are the sub divisions of study, through which this paper has analysed the Economic thoughts of Thiru. Vi.Ka. as enunciated and explained by him in various books written by him.

Importance of Wealth

It is the considered opinion of Thiru Vi.Ka. that economic goods or wealth is the main basis of human welfare.[1] He points out that family life is the foundation of human life, that happiness is an integral part of family life and that a family cannot ensure happiness unless it has command over enough money or wealth. In a similar vein he indicates that the economic prosperity of a country can be measured by the extent of happiness enjoyed by them through sufficient food and other essential amenities of life.[2] In other words, Thiru.Vi.Ka. feels strongly that economic prosperity is the basis of love and happiness in the individual household as well as in the entire nation.

Thiru.Vi.Ka. makes it clear that the different factors like the government, education, industry, agriculture, services etc., which enrich and ensure human life are all related to economic goods or wealth.[3] Economists are of the opinion that the various goods and services used by man posses the power of satisfying his desires or wants, that this want-satisfying power may be called utility and that all the goods and services which have such utility along with scarcity, may be termed as wealth.[4] Thus it may be seen that Thiru. Vi.Ka's views on the interrelation between human happiness and wealth is only strengthened by the principles of Economists.

Production of Wealth

Making of goods, possessing utility and required for human welfare, may be termed as production. Such production is approached by Thiru.Vi.Ka. from two angles. One angle refers to the efforts made by each individual to obtain enough riches or wealth for his living. The other refers to the efforts made by the entire society towards economic growth and development.

Thiru. Vi.Ka. lived in the times when India was enslaved by the British rule and when the individuals as well as the entire society were suffering from economic degradation and social degeneration. Such economic and social conditions of the society had their natural impact

on the economic principles and thought of Thiru Vi.Ka. He has given a vivid description of hunger, starvation and early death of the millions of our people of those days. The sizes of population was increasing by leaps and bounds but the production of essential goods was lagging far behind. Thiru.Vi.Ka. has emphasised time and again the imperative need for stepping up the production of welfare goods and has pointed out strongly that the unbearable misery of the people cannot be mitigated without such increase in production. He has also analysed the contributory causes of such inadequate production and has come to the conclusion that the diversion of the great force of scientific knowledge from the production of goods for human happiness to the production of dangerous weapons of death and destruction is the main cause of such insufficient production.[5]

Individuals and Earning of Wealth

In his analysis of the earning of wealth by individuals, Thiru. Vi.Ka. points out that it is the duty of every individual to earn money or wealth, that such earning must be made only through honest, proper and virtuous means and that no one should try to live at the expense of others without himself working hard and earning money.[6]

Thiru.Vi.Ka. is categorical in stating that each individual must not acquire wealth beyond the level which is reasonably sufficient for himself and his family. Limiting the earning of wealth to the reasonable level is the best way to ensure a simple, natural and happy life. Thiru. Vi.Ka. considers the tendency of the rich men to acquire and enjoy wealth beyond natural limits as equivalent to robbery or theft. Hence he emphasies the duty of every man to earn wealth without becoming a thief of this variety.[7] He has explained how the principle of not desiring excess wealth has had been advocated and followed as a tradition in India by sages and seers from times immemorial.

Double Consequences of the Desire for Excess Wealth

Economic thought of Thiru Vi.Ka. has always been that wealth and its enjoyment should not be restricted to a few persons or to a few

classes of persons but that it should be made available for all the people in the society.[8] The unethical desire of the rich to have excess wealth leads to the creation of two different conditions in society. At one extreme there is the rich sector where the enjoyment of excess wealth drives the man away from his natural path of righteousness and virtue to a path of ostentatious living, excess expenditure and undesirable character and conduct.[9] At the other extreme there is the sector of poverty, where the inability to satisfy even the fundamental needs of life drives men to a life of hunger, starvation and early death.[10] Such a condition of unbearable poverty and starvation makes the poor to scold others, beat some others and even to commit murder sometimes.[11]

Thiru Vi.Ka.'s portrayal of such double consequences of the desire for excess wealth is similar to the views expressed by the great thinker Plato. Plato has stated that humanity has to wage a war simultaneously with two enemies. One enemy is the excess wealth which spoils the human soul and life by lavish expenditure and luxurious living. The other enemy is the miserable poverty which pulls down man to a life of degradation and hatred.[12]

The Basis of Human Struggles

The inborn nature of humanity is to love peaceful existence but we find incessant struggles everywhere in the world. An analysis of these struggles will only lead us to the conclusion that they arise mainly out of wealth. Wealth earned by unholy methods never reaches all the members of the society. Wealth is usually found concentrated in some sectors and almost absent in other sectors. It is the gulf between such excess wealth in some sectors and scarce wealth in other sectors that sows the seeds of various struggles. Only destruction and not construction, is the consequence of such struggles.[13] The logic embedded in Plato's writing that in a society not having the dichotomy of excess wealth and scarce wealth there will be no place for autocracy and injustice, for exploitation and jealousy,[14] may be compared with similar thoughts of Thiru Vi.Ka.

Life of humanity will be engulfed by prosperity and happiness, if there is no concentration of wealth in some sectors alone. This is an unshakable conclusion of Thiru Vi.Ka. when he says that,

"பொருளின் கோணலில் இருளே சூழும்"[15]

he states this conclusion in a clear-cut manner.

Prevention of Universal utilisation of Wealth

Thiru Vi.Ka. who had spent the major part of his life for achieving the political freedom of India, did not forget to think about economic freedom. His wide experience of men and matters easily proved to him that it is the institution of capitalism which prevents the universal ownership and utilisation of wealth and thereby obstructs the humanity from enjoying economic freedom. Thiru.Vi.Ka. was of the firm view that demolition of capitalism alone will ensure the success of the struggles for various human rights including the struggle for Indian freedom. He has stated again and again that in modern days when the large number of labourers have risen from their slumber and are ready to fight for their rights, they can no longer be exploited by the handful of capitalists. It is definite that this uprising of labourers will bring about the downfall of capitalism.[16] He was not satisfied by merely supporting the cause of labourers through the press and the platform but took an active part in the labour movement of India, by organising labour unions and leading their struggles.[17]

Raising the Voice for Economic Freedom

Thiru.Vi.Ka.'s understanding of the nature and significance of freedom was definitely different from those of many other leaders of Indian National congress along with whom he worked together for the freedom struggle. His outlook of freedom was far more comprehensive, and of more greater depth and possessed far longer time perspective than those of many other leaders. He not only stressed the importance of economic freedom along with political freedom but insisted that economic equality and justice must be an integral part of political freedom.[18] He felt that there can be peace and happiness in Indian

society, only when economic freedom prevails along with political freedom. It is indeed remarkable to find how these economic ideas of Thiru Vi.Ka. go hand in hand with the economic principles of Netaji Subash Chandra Bose, the great hero of the Indian Independence Movement.[19]

Upholding Women's Right to Property

If women are to acquire a status of equality with men, it is essential for them to get a legal right for family property. The greatness of Thiru Vi.Ka. as social reformer can be understood in real perspective only if we remember the fact that he advocated women's right to property and rendered remarkable service in that connection at a time as early as 1910's. He had extended wholehearted support to women's liberation movements and had praised the note worthy services rendered by stalwarts like Thiru Shanmuga Mudaliar of Vaniyambadi towards women's right to property.[20] It has to be stated that Thiru Vi.Ka. considered women's right to property as one of the essential steps needed for the achievement of comprehensive economic freedom of the entire society.

Regeneration of the Rural Economy

Thiru Vi.Ka. is extremely pained to witness the tragic conditions of the rural masses who migrate to the cities seeking employment in the manufacturing industries there.[21] He has advocated a policy of re-organising the village economy with a scientific crientation so that the rural population will be able to lead a prosperous life in the villages themselves, depending on our time honoured occupation of cultivation and allied agro-based avocations.[22] He has also emphasised the need for handloom and other rural industries to be roorganised and modernised on a scientific basis.[23] The intense desire of Thiru Vi.Ka. to raise our villages the real life-force of India, to a far higher level of economic prosperity has found a clear expression in these reforms advocated by him.

Encouragement to Rapid Industrial Growth

Thiru Vi.Ka. has always been of the opinion that Indians must also organise textile mills and other large scale industries in every province

of India just as the foreigners do in their countries. Such entrepreneurial efforts on our part will reduce the existing tendency of exporting raw cotton and other raw materials at very low prices and importing manufactured and consumer goods at very high prices. Thiru Vi.Ka. has also advocated the issue of shares to the public so as to raise the investments, required for such rapid industrial development.[24] These opinions of Thiru Vi.Ka. point out the intense desire he had for large scale economic growth of India, long before Independence. It may be noted that these views of Thiru Vi.Ka. are of the same nature of those of the great patriot V.O. Chidambaranar whose name has gone down in history as the organiser of Swadeshi steam Navigation company to wrest away the shipping trade from the clutches of foreign hands.

Share to the Labourers in Management and Profit

Thiru Vi.Ka. who had taken a leading part in the Indian labour movement almost from its inception, was never satisfied with a mere increase in the wages of workers or a mere decrease in their working hours. He always felt that the labourers must secure a share in the management of industries and in the profit earned by them, if they are to be liberated from the iron chains of capitalism.[25] These views of Thiru Vi.Ka. on labour problems are strikingly similar to those of Periyar E.V. Ramasamy, his intimate friend in the Indian Independence movement. Periyar has stated that there will not arise any permanent benefit to the labourers by organising strikes and other struggles, merely for securing higher wages and other amenities. Obtaining increased wages after a good deal of struggle and suffering cannot change their status as labourers. So also, granting of increased wages cannot change the status of capitalists. Labourers must cease to be labourers and both must become men of equal status, men of equal partners in economic management and in profit sharing.[26]

Programmes aiming at universal utilisation of wealth

Thiru Vi.Ka. has outlined a series of programmes of action to be executed by the governments in India after achievement of Independence. These programmes include nationalisation of railways,

buses, banks, theatres, leading industries and other economic institutions having a potential for large profits. It may be noted that all these programmes have the aim of universal utilisation of wealth and socialist pattern of society. It is his view that even agricultural lands must be run on a collective basis.[27]

Impact of Marxism on Thiru. Vi.Ka.

Inspite of his strong faith in a particular religion, Thiru Vi.Ka. was always having a spirit of tolerance to and sympathetic understanding of all other religions. As a matter of fact he was always ready to explain, support and even propagate the good principles of all religions. The outlook of universal tolerance and brotherhood of man embedded in him made him wonder why such tolerance has not spread all over the world. As a result of his close contact with the socialist thinker, Thiru M. Singaravelu chettiar and the consequent study of Marxism, Thiru. Vi.Ka. came to the conclusion that the Marxist theories alone can bring about universal tolerance and social ownership of wealth.[28]

'Das Capital' the immortal Economic treatise of Karl Marx which was read by Thiru Vi.Ka. seventeen times[29] had a remarkable impact on him. It was the year 1917 when the great October revolution took place in Russia. It was the same year when Thiru Vi.Ka. assumed the Editorship of the Tamil daily 'Desabakthan' and began to devote his entire time and energy to the freedom struggle. Thiru Vi.Ka. has pointed out that he was easily attracted by various happenings in Russia at that time as Russia then was the first testing ground of Marxian principles.[30]

Marxism The New form of the Old Socialism

Thiru Vi.Ka. is of the opinion that Marxism, though having a new format and shape, has really been framed out of the series of socialist principles that were enunciated at various countries and at various times. In other words, he says, the new communist philosophy of Marxism is the result of the evolution of the previous socialist thoughts.[31]

Socialism may have been a newcomer to Western countries, but the socialist thought says Thiru Vi.Ka. has always been the foundation of the civilisation and culture of the Eastern countries. He has explained how the ancient Hindu Dharma and the various religious philosophies of India possess a socialist outlook.[33]

Even Tiruvaḷḷuvar and Ramalingar Adigalar appear to him to be upholding socialist principles. This view point of Thiru Vi.Ka. has been well put forth in his detailed commentaries on Tirukkuṟaḷ,[34] and speeches on Ramalinga Vaḷḷalar.[35] His socialist enthusiasm has been evident even in the way he explained certain Tamil words.

Marxian Medicine

Thiru Vi.Ka. who has a strong faith in the Gandhian Ahimsa Philosophy, has pointed out in the following words, that it is Karl Marx who has cured the mental pang from which he was suffering, in connection with the practical application of Ahimsa.

> "I began to think deep about Gandhian Ahimsa Dharma. This principle, no doubt, is good. It may be alright in the world of philosophy and in the world of poetry. But I doubt whether it can succeed in the day to day world. Sometimes this doubt assumes serious proportions, makes a deep dent into my heart and even creates mental suffering. At such times Marx makes his appearance in my mental world and cures the illness found there. As a result of his treatment, I come to understand that Ahimsa will become an integral part of the day to day world, if Marxian Philosophy engulfs the entire world."[36]

Thiru Vi.Ka., who has thus portrayed Karl Marx as a powerful physician who has cured his mental illness, has also indicated that marxism is the only pathway to a new world where there will be no struggles based on wealth and where there will prevail absolute peace and tranquility.[37]

Is Marxism an Atheist Path

Thiru Vi.Ka. a scholar of strong faith in religious path, could not visualise Marxism as a Atheist doctrine. Infact he has condemned the view of some scholars that it is an Atheist-based philosophy. Even as the Philosophies of Mohammad, Christ, Arugan, Buddha, Kannabiran, Kumaran and Dakshina Moorthy are required for stabilising the internal tranquillity of human mind, so also the Marxian doctrine is essential for establishing and maintaining the external peace of the day to day world. He gives a stern warning that dismissing Marxism as a doctrine of Atheism is equivalent to dismissing social peace and tranquillity and inviting struggles and suffereings.[38] To accept and adopt Marxism is unavoidable. It is the best way to achieve universal brotherhood and socialisation of wealth.

'Sanmarga samarasam' (Righteous Path of Equality)

Though Thiru Vi.Ka. strongly supports the Marxian throught, yet he is not reluctant to point out, what he thinks to be its defect. In his view, Marxism is not comprehensive since the 'sath' or Almighty, the force of perfection, does not find a place in it. Marxian doctrine cannot achieve a full fledged form as long as the draw back or lacuna is found in it. Moreover, he points out that Socialism not having the content of 'Sanmargam' or righteousness can never suit the Indian soil.[39]

Various Stages of Growth of Marxism

Thiru Vi.Ka. has explained that Marxism will not and cannot be adopted in any country exactly in the same pattern as given by Marx. It will take root and grow in each country in a pattern as suited to the natural tradition and culture and conditions of that country. Even in Russia, the first country of its practical application, it has undergone a series of changes and adaptation. Marxian doctrine flourished there as Leninism in the early years of the revolutionary era but later it has taken the shape of Stalinism. It is quite possible that it may adopt still other forms in the decades to come.[40] We cannot fail to appreciate the prophetic nature of these words of Thiru. Vi.Ka. when we consider the nature of various changes that have overtaken Russia in the recent

decades. Thiru Vi.Ka. points out the Russian example and states that when Marxism takes root in India, it will definitely grow in a way suited to Indian culture and tradition.

Toleration of different opinions is essential for the rapid growth of Marxism but unfortunately later day administrators of Soviet Russia adopted an attitude of hostility and hatred to differences of opinion. Such undesirable attitude has prevented the natural further growth of Marxism. This is why marxism has not yet taken a proper shape in Russia.[41]

Thiru Vi.Ka. is of the view that more and more facts would have come to the limelight and Marxian theory would have adopted the essence of Gandhism as an integrated part of it, if the blossoming of different points of view had been permitted.[42]

Marxism and Gandhism

Thiru Vi.Ka. with his desire to formulate socialist principles in accordance with the changing needs of the times, has made a detailed analysis of Marxism and Gandhism. Such an analysis has led him to the conclusion that there are no serious differences between Marxism and Gandhism in fundamental principles but there are differences only in the methods adopted for executing the principles.[43]

Marxism may ensure, for all people, wealth-based happiness but it cannot secure virtue-based happiness. Welfare or happiness based both on wealth and virtue alone can bring about ever lasting peace in the world. Various methods of realising virtue or righteousness (அறம்) have been well devised by the sages and seers of India. Thiru Vi.Ka. has stressed the point that the world will not stop contented with Marxism, but will go beyond and through Marxism, to the ultimate goal of Aram (அறம்) or Dharma and that India is the proper country to guide the world towards such a destination.[44] Tirukkuṟaḷ, the true embodiment in Tamil, of this noble Indian thought of Nature based living, is one of the places of origin of the thoughts underlying Gandhism and Marxism. This remarkable view is one of the special contributions made by Thiru Vi.Ka.[45]

An Integrated Philosophy of Marxism and Gandhism

It has been a great desire of Thiru Vi.Ka. to have the innovation of an integrated philosophy of Marxism and Gandhism. Though they appear to be two different doctrines with a great gulf between them, yet in reality both of them possess a common aim, the aim of the creation of a non violent world. They are like the two tributaries of a great river, which run as two different rivers for some distance and then re-unite as a single river. The foundations of the two philosophies are the same. The goals of them are also the same. The differences arise only in the mid-way; only as regards the methods to be followed. Gandhi Adigal has the natural heritage of the tradition set by Rishaba Devar but Karl Marx does not have it. That is the reason why there are differences in their methods. Western countries will adopt the path of Ahimsa or Non-Violence, only after going through the path of Himsa or Violence. But there is no such necessity for India to first pass through the era of violence as it has always been a country of non violence. Thiru Vi.Ka. states that when Marxism enters India, after well establishing itself in western countries, it will be ready to integrate with Gandhism.[46]

Marxism, as integrated with Gandhism, can illuminate, not only India but the whole world, with its beacon light of Marxist Gandhist Philosophy. The creation of a new world order requires not only Marxism but also Gandhism, not only materialism but also spiritualism. Marxism is like the body of a man, Gandhism is like the soul of him. Thiru Vi.Ka. raises the pertinent question - how can there be life in the world, without a combination of body and soul.[47] It is his unshakable faith that the future world will adopt only Marxism as integrated with Gandhism.[48]

His speeches and writings are abundant with his remarkable thoughts on the New world order. Here is one such thought of his:

> Wealth (poruḷ) is the life line of Marxism. Virtue (aruḷ) is the life line of Gandhism. My view is that a combination of wealth and virtue alone can form the New world order along proper lines.[49]

Thiru Vi.Ka. has spent a good part of his life, for propagating the ideal of a socialist society based on Marxist - Gandhist integrated philosophy. He has employed, without any reservation, his powerful weapons of speeches and writtings for achieving this goal. Even in the last few years of his life, when his eyesight was extremely dim he propagated this ideal in the form of poetical works. His book of poetry - 'Poruḷum Aruḷum Allatu Marxiyamum Gandhiyamum' composed by him in the evening of his life, will especially be a good guide to the younger generations.

The essential features and the greatness of Marxist Gandhist Integrated Doctrine have been portrayed well by Thiru Vi.Ka. in the following lines of poetry.

"மூர்க்கப் புரட்சியால் முளைக்கும் பொதுமை
மூர்க்கத்தாலே முடிவும் எய்தும்;
மார்க்ஸியம் காந்தியம் தொடக்கும் மாறே;
இரண்டும் முடிவில் இணையும் ஒன்றாய்;
அகிம்சையை இம்சையால் இணைப்பது மார்க்ஸியம்;
அகிம்சையை அகிம்சையால் அணைப்பது காந்தியம்
இரண்டு மார்க்கமும் திரண்ட மூலம்
ஆதி பகவன் போதனை என்க."[50]

"உழவும் தொழிலும் கொழிக்க விளைவே
பொருளும் அருளும் மருவி ஒன்றுக
மார்க்சிஸ் காந்தி மார்க்கம் வெல்க"[51]

It may be pertinent in this connection to refer to the remark made by C. Ramalingam in one of his articles that 'spiritual communism' is the principle which Thiru Vi.Ka. wants the human society to follow.[52] The observation made by Thiru T. Saravanath Thamizan in an article that Thiru. Vi.Ka. was the first thinker who has formulated the doctrine of 'Democratic socialism' by combining the Gandhian factor of Democracy and the Marxian factor of socialism, also merits our special attention.[53]

Thiru Vi.Ka. draws our attention to the doubt expressed in some quarters whether Marxism and Gandhism which are like North Pole and South Pole can ever unite together and states that such doubt will arise

only to those who live in Marxist world alone or in Gandhian world alone. Such a doubt will never raise its head among those who are well versed with both of the philosophies. Times are not far off when Marxism and Gandhism will integrate and create the New world order.[54] Such a integration and the consequent generation of immeasurable happiness in the world are not mere wishful thinking. They are solid events which are definitely going to happen in this world, in a short time.

K. Kailasapathy, who has approached Thiru Vi.Ka.' socialist views from the Marxist angle, has stated that Thiru Vi.Ka., the pioneer of Indian Labour Movement and Social Reformer has analysed Marxism from the traditional religious point of view and that he has only portrayed the old 'Samarasa sanmargam' as the modern communist philosophy. He has also pointed out how Thiru Vi.Ka. has eulogised Karl Marx as 'Marx Muṉivar' (Saint Marx).[55]

The theory of 'Middle path' has occupied a key position in Indian Philosophical thought from very ancient times. This has also been referred to as 'the right path'. Thiru Vi.Ka.'s effort of integrating Marxism and Gandhism may easily be conceived as an evolutionary development of the traditional Indian 'Right Path'. V. Veerasamy remarks that the future times alone can provide the answer to the question, "How far Thiru Vi.Ka's theory of integration can succeed?"[56] Be that as it may, one thing is clear. It is the comprehensive universal outlook (Potumaip paṇpu) of Thiru Vi.Ka. It is this broad human outlook which pervades through out his theory of Universal ownership and utilisation of wealth (Poruḷ Potumaik Kōṭpāṭu).

Conclusion

Various Economic thoughts of Thiru VI.Ka. who lived from the last quarter of the nineteenth century to the middle of the twentieth century, have been analysed in this paper. The comprehensive nature of his economic philosophy, which has covered the individual life as well as the broad social structure, has been explained.

Keeping in mind the leading part taken by Thiru Vi.Ka. in the Indian Independence Movement, it has been brought out how, under the

then existing conditions of slavery, problems like economic freedom, women's right to property and the rights of labourers, occupied a pride of place in the Economic thoughts of Thiru Vi.Ka.

The paper has given a detailed account of the tremendous influence of Marxian thought on the entire economic philosophy of Thiru Vi.Ka. He had immense faith in religious principles; he was an ardent follower of Gandhian ideals; he was also a remarkable social reformer. At the same time, he was a powerful advocate of Marxian principles.

Among all the economic thoughts of Thiru Vi.Ka. the most significant one has been the Integrated philosophy of Marxism and Gandhism. This principle of Integration, has been, without doubt, the most precious contribution made by Thiru Vi.Ka., through Tamil and Tamilnadu, to the entire world. Various aspects of Marxist Gandhist Integration as well as its relevance to the achievement of Universal happiness of the humanity have been analysed in this paper, in detail.

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AGRICULTURAL DEVELOPMENT IN TAMILNADU SINCE INDEPENDENCE

M. Muthiah

"If agriculture in this country fails, we fail, the government fails and the Nation fails. There is no help for us but to succeed in agriculture" - *Nehru*

"If you are late in doing one thing in agriculture you are late in all" - *Cato*

Introduction

Agriculture is the major sector of Tamilnadu economy. Besides meeting the demand for food stemming from population and income growths, it is the sector in which majority of people earn their livelihood. Further, there are strong links between agricultural and overall economic growth. Expanding agricultural production increases the demand for the output of other sectors, notably fertilizers, pesticides, machinery, transportation and communications, varying with the levels of technology used in agriculture. At the same time agriculture provides the raw materials such as cotton textiles, sugar and vegetable oils, which are so important in the state. The agricultural sector also influences industry on the demand side through the expenditure of rural households on a wide range of consumer goods, including clothing, foot wear, sugar and edible oils. Agriculture is the means of livelihood for above 70% of the total population and accounts for about 30% of the state's income. It also contributes a major share to the state's export. Agriculture in Tamilnadu had made big strides during the last four decades after independence towards definite transformation from a stage of chronic stagnancy to that of sustained growth resulting in the self sufficiency

in the food front despite the consecutive unfavorable seasonal conditions prevailed especially in the last decade. In my paper I want to focus the developments that took place in the last four decades in the agricultural administrative setup and crop production activities.

State Before Independence

A separate department of agriculture was organised in 1882 based on the recommendations of the Indian Famine Commission 1880. In 1904 the agricultural department was organised as an independent unit with the director of Agriculture. During 1916 the department came under the direct control of the Revenue Department. In 1930 the posts of district agricultural officers were created in each Taluk. In the year 1941 the state was divided into two circles each under the charge of deputy director and the number of circles was increased to 3 in 1942. In 1946 an Agricultural Engineering Branch was created to encourage the use of Tractors and modern agricultural implements.

The area and production of principal crops during the year of independence (1947-48) were as follows :

Crop	Area in laks Ha.	Production (in laks M.T)	Productivity yield in (Kgs/Ha)
Rice	17.41	12.40	712
Millets	18.68	13.97	745
Pulses	4.05	1.21	298
Cotton	2.52	2.03 (lakh bales)	137
Sugarcane	0.60	4.21	7020

Post Independence Development

(a) Administrative Improvement

In the first decade after independence the department had undergone numerous changes. In 1948 the distribution of iron and steel through agriculture department was given up. In 1954 the task of

monitoring the distribution of fertilizers was entrusted to Board of Revenue to regulate the distribution through cooperatives and private agencies. In 1954 the entire agricultural work was entrusted to the agricultural extension staff attached to the community development blocks to avoid the duplication and overlapping of department blocks. In 1958, the work of plumbing boaring in wells was transferred in the industries to agriculture department. In 1971 the fundamental research, the higher education activities of the department excepting regional research stations were transferred to the newly formed Tamilnadu Agricultural University, Coimbatore. In 1977-78, the activities of the department with regard to agricultural marketing were separated and rested with the newly formed Director of Agricultural Marketing with head quarters at Trichy. Likewise in 1979-80 two departments, namely Seed Gestification and horticulture and plantation crops were formed separating the subjects from this department. In 1980-81 two more departments viz., Oil Seeds and Agricultural Engineering were formed. In 1981-82 all the research stations which were with the department were handed over to Tamilnadu agricultural University leaving behind only extension activities, inputs, supply, quality control, soil testing and adoptive research.

(b) Food Grain Production

RICE

From the production statistics of rice it can be seen that the rice production was 35-40 laks M.T in the 60s. There was a quantum jump to 50 laks M.T of rice during 1970-71. This jump was due to the intensive implementation of high yielding varieties programme. The productivity which was around 1400 Kgs/Ha in 60's increased to 1900 Kgs per Ha in early 70's. This significant increase was not only due to the high yielding varieties but also due to well supported extension activities through IAAP and IADP. During this period the input supply including the credit facilities were ensured to the farmers. At the later part of the 70's the area under paddy was around 27 to 29 laks Ha and highest production of 58 laks MT was recorded in 1979-80. This

situation has helped the state to become marginally surplus enabling to export to other states. However, in the early part of the 80's due to successive floods and droughts this level of record could not be surpassed. But due to the concerted efforts of the department through various project approaches like 5 MT per Ha 3P projects and 5 steps approach, production of rice has been maintained around 56 laks MT inspite of drought and large reduction in the area. An all time high productivity of 2785 Kgs. per Ha. has been achieved in 1987-88. The productivity of rice has increased four fold from the base level productivity in 1947-1948.

MILLETS

Likewise the production of millets at the time of independence was only around 14 laks MT. This has been increased 16.20 laks MT in four decades after independence. The productivity has been increased from 745 Kgs./ha. to 1046 Kgs/ha. The productivity increase has kept up the increasing trend of production during the years after independence despite the reduction of area about 2 to 3 laks ha.

PULSES

In case of pulses, a phenomenal increase in area, production and productivity have been registered due to launching of special schemes of both extensive and intensive cultivation. Despite the fact that the yield of pulses in peninsular parts of the country is low, the area has been doubled and the production has been tribbled simultaneously keeping the productivity increase.

The following are the decade wise area and production and productivity of food grains from 1947-48 to 1987-88.

Area in Laks ha. Production in LMT. Productivity in Kgs/ha.

Year	Rice			Millets			Pulses		
	A.	P.	P.	A.	P.	P.	A.	P.	P.
1947-48	17.41	12.40	712	18.68	13.97	745	4.05	1.21	298
1956-57	23.16	32.47	1420	22.05	15.08	684	4.48	1.15	256
1966-67	26.89	37.19	1410	19.10	15.55	814	4.33	1.12	259
1976-77	22.84	42.15	1846	20.77	19.45	936	5.45	1.77	325
1986-87	19.55	53.33	2728	14.89	15.36	1032	6.89	3.12	453
1987-88	20.12	56.04	2785	15.48	16.20	1047	9.28	4.27	460
Annual growth rate of production		5.58		0.39			4.88		

(c) Cotton

The production of cotton which was 2.03 laks bales in 1947-48 has been increased to 4.68 laks bales in 1987-88 with growth rate of 3.18 percent. There is 144% increase in the productivity over the base level productivity in 1947-48. The area, production, yield details are given below :

Year	Area in laks ha.	Production in M.T	Yield per ha. in Kgs
1947-48	2.52	2.03	137
1956-57	4.31	3.39	140
1966-67	3.13	3.35	215
1976-77	2.08	2.53	207
1986-87	1.86	2.78	254
1987-88	2.38	4.68	334
Growth rate of production		3.18	

(d) Sugarcane

Tamilnadu accounts for nearly 7% of the total area under sugarcane and contributes about 10% of the total production in terms of gur. The area has increased from 0.60 laks ha. in 1947-48 to 2.08 laks ha. in 1987-88 which is 247 increase whereas the production has been stepped up from 4.21 laks MT of gur. in 1947-48 to 22.22 Laks MT in 1987-88 with a growth rate of 10.4%. Tamilnadu raises first in the productivity at all India level. The details of area, production and productivity are given below :

Year	Area in laks ha.	Production in terms of gur. M.T	Yield/ha. in Kgs
1947-48	0.60	4.21	7020
1956-57	0.47	3.32	7142
1966-67	0.90	8.31	9225
1976-77	1.28	13.12	10224
1986-87	1.96	21.60	11020
1987-88	2.08	22.22	10682

There was no parasite breeding centres in 1947-48 for the production and release of parasites to control early shoot borer and inter node borer. Now 21 parasites breeding centres have been established and produced and supply parasites to cover 10500 ha. per annum.

(e) Input Supply

For better crop production the department took up the distribution of seeds, plant production, chemicals and agricultural implements. These inputs are supplied through well knit agricultural deports. At the time of independence there was one deport per Taluk. To make available the agricultural inputs at the easy reach of farmers, more agricultural deports were opened in a phased manner and now there are 782 agricultural deports in the state. The salient achievements made during the year of independence in the sphear of input supply are briefed below :

Seeds

At the time of independence the nuclear seeds produced in the research stations were further multiplied in the farmers holdings under the supervision of Agricultural Demonstrators. Since the jurisdiction of Agricultural Demonstrators was fairly wide the supervision of seed farms was only occasional resulting in poor quality of seed produced.

To surmount these difficulties, the government decided to take over (since 1956) the responsibility of primary seed-production by opening state farms leaving to the farmers only the final stage of multiplication in the village seed farms.

In the first decade after independence 38 state seed farms were opened and about 350 MT of seeds were produced per annum. In subsequent years this number was increased to 70. Since some of the farms were handed over to Tamilnadu Agricultural university horticulture and oil seed department, the number of state seed farms left with the department of agriculture in 1986-87 was only 44 to produce about 800 MT of foundation and 3400 MT of certified seeds.

The details of seed distribution paddy and millets from the time of independence are furnished below :

Year	Paddy (MT)	Millets (MT)
1947-48	1845	21
1956-57	8662	306
1966-67	33618	4182
1976-77	12144	788
1986-87	15034	1627
1987-88	17545	1296

In the later part of 60's to have a shift from the local variety to improved varieties programmes like high yielding varieties programme IR8 crash programme were launched. Hence bulk quantities of seeds of high yielding varieties were supplied. In 70's consequent on the

introduction of seed certification the department evolved a policy to distribute only certified seeds and gradually increased the certified seed distribution in a phased manner. The seed distribution policy adopted in 1987-88 was paddy 14% Ragi 18% Cholam (v) 7% Hybrid millets 0.5% Pulses 10% Cotton rain fed 10% and Irrigated 15% of area cultivated.

Fertilizer

The consumption of chemical fertilizer during the year of independence was first 10000 tones only. The reasons for the poor off take was the farmers were under the impression that if chemical fertilizers are applied to the field the soil fertility would get deteriorated. This myth was eliminated gradually from their mind by sustained efforts through extension works by the department and consumption rose to 7.41 laks MT during 1987-88. The consumption of fertilizers decade wise are given below :

Year	Nitrogen	Phosphorous	Potash	Total
1947-48	0.08	0.02	---	0.10
1956-57	0.25	0.04	---	0.29
1966-67	0.85	0.44	0.32	1.69
1976-77	1.96	0.45	0.57	2.98
1986-87	3.85	1.43	1.46	6.74
1987-88	4.30	1.51	1.60	7.41

In the per ha. consumption of nutrients Tamilnadu stands second at the National level with 110 Kgs/ha.

At the same time of independence only one soil testing laboratory was there. With the advent of HYVs the soil fertility management was found to be essential and therefore 15 soil testing laboratories with facilities to analyse micronutrient level and 16 mobile soil testing laboratories were established in a phased manner. One production unit for micronutrient mixture to produce 100 MT was established in 1977. In order to produce the cost on the application of

fertilizers coupled with the aim of improving the organic matter content of the soil, the practise of applying bio-fertilizers like blue green algae and azolla were introduced in the year 1976-77. This practice has picked up well and now 2.60 laks ha. of paddy area are covered with the Blue green Algae. Apart from this the use of bacterial fertilizers was introduced to the farmers in 70's and about 15 laks packets are consumed every year. At the time of independence the fertilizers trade was mostly carried out by government and quasi-government agencies. Private trade was encouraged for the benefit of farmers with a view to maintain the quality and prices of the fertilizers sold to the farmers. Enforcement of Fertilize control order 1957 became absolutely necessary. To aid in the quality control activities, 6 fertilizers testing laboratories were started in the 70's with a total analysing capacity of 11000 samples per annum. With the introduction of Training and visit in 1981 this organisation was further strengthened.

Plant Protection

Protection of crops from pests and diseases is a widely acknowledged concept. Till 1947-48 there was no organised setup to advice on the need for taking plant protection measures. The plant protection service was started as a Grow More Food measure in January 1949 with the appointment of four plant protection offices and necessary subordinate staff. To overcome the initial reluctance of farmers to use pesticides and fungicides they were sold at 1/3 cost price. As the use of pesticides became popular among the farmers the quantum of subsidy allowed was gradually reduced to 30% until 1971. During 1971-72 this was again reduced to 15%. Even this element of subsidy was totally withdrawn from 1974-75.

Besides advocating the plant protection measures, control of endemic pests like red hairy caterpillar on groundnut, stemborer on paddy etc., was taken up for the issue of spot loan. To control the pest on a mass scale aerial spraying from 1960-61 to 1971-72. Pest surveillance was introduced in 1972-73. After the introduction of T and V system in 1981 this work was intensified systematically and at present, data are

collected from 7124 locations every week, analysed and necessary fore-warnings are given through mass media. The provisions insecticides Act 1961 are strictly enforced. To aid this scheme there are 9 laboratories functioning in the state from 1969 onwards to analyse 16200 numbers of samples per annum. This is 50% of the total capacity established in the country.

Special Programmes

Intensive Agricultural District Programme

In the 50's the extension service to the farmers was provided mainly through community development setup where the gramasevak was in-charge of multi various activities including agriculture. Since the gramasevak could not bestow his full attention towards agriculture, the IADP concept was introduced as a pilot project in 1960-61 in Thanjavur District where major area is commended by canal irrigation. The main objective of this scheme was to increase the production of per unit area by developing a package of agricultural practices. This has resulted in increase of production from 8.85 laks MT to 12.78 laks MT in the year 1975-76.

Intensive Agriculural Area Programme

The experience gained in the implementation of IADP in Thanjavur district similar package approach was introduced in the name of intensive agricultural area programme in 1965-66. In the first phase, the districts of Chengalpattu, Coimbatore, Madurai and Tirunelveli were covered under this programme and in 1970-71 this was extended to Tiruchirapally district. In the mid-70's this programme was extended to all the remaining districts.

High Yielding Varieties Programme

With the advent of IR8, ADT27 and CO29 paddy varieties area approach for increasing the production was introduced in the name of HYV programme in 1966-67. This programme envisaged an integrated approach for the introduction of newly identified varieties suitable to

the different tracts of the state. This also ensured supply of requisite inputs at optimum level and credit facilities. Besides, periodical training for the field staff was also given under this scheme to update their knowledge. In 1969-70 IR crash programme was launched as a part of this scheme which felicitated to cover nearly 50% of the total paddy area with HYV. Likewise in the case of millets HB 3 Cumbu crash programme during Rabi summer of 1970-71 was launched and the area covered was 1.5 laks ha. Only after the implementations of HB3 cumbu crash programme hybrid millets cultivation became popular among the farmers. The achievements under this scheme decadewise are furnished below :

High Yielding Varieties - Area coverage (Laks ha.)

Year	Paddy	Millets	Total
1966-67	1.90	0.20	2.10
1976-77	20.09	4.49	24.56
1986-87	18.38	9.44	27.82
1987-88	19.10	11.13	30.23

Farmers Training Centre

With the introduction of HYV's a visible gap between the recommended package of practises and farmers adoption level was observed to be a serious impediment for mass coverage of HYV programme. So the farmers training and education programme was envisaged during 1968. Consequently farmers training center was started during 1968 which could train 3100 farmers. By the end of 1984, 13 centers have been started to train 34500 farmers per year. Besides 13 agricultural schools are functioning to train 325 rural youths every year.

Training And Visit System

This system was introduced in Tamilnadu from 1-9-1981 onwards with the financial assistance from world bank. This system envisages speedy transfer of technology which are economically viable

and easily implementable by the farmers. Under this system, one village extension worker has been positioned to look after every 1000-1200 farm families spread over to 2 or 3 villages.

State Level Training Institute, Kudimian Malai

With the advancement of agricultural technology at a faster pace, it becomes necessary that the personnel engaged in the field of Agricultural Extension are also to be equipped in the latest farming techniques. With a view to achieve this object, the State Level Training Institute was started in September 1981 with the introduction of training and visit system in Tamilnadu.

Tamilnadu Women in Agriculture (TANWA)

To train the farm women to promote the growth rate in agriculture and to strengthen the Farm Women's position in the Society, TANWA Project aided by DANIDA Mission was started in July 1986. This project will provide the farm women to acquire adequate knowledge and skill in relevant agricultural technology through practical training. In a period of 5 1/2 years 20,300 women were trained in the coastal districts viz. Chengalpattu, South Arcot, Thanjavur, Pudukkottai and Ramnad Districts.

Conclusion

There has been a remarkable progress in agriculture in Tamilnadu as a result of implementation of several food production schemes. It is also true that the achievement under green revolution in Tamilnadu are next to none in the country. There has been a sustained and steady improvement noticed during the past 40 years since independence of HYVs of crops. It is seen that the Agriculture Department has undergone series of structural changes, every change leading to improve the quality of extension, simultaneously number of schemes have also been implemented resulting in substantial growth both in production and productivity as indicated below :

Crop	1947-48 Production in L.M.T	Productivity in kgs/ha	1987-88 Production in L.M.T	Productivity in Kgs/ha.
Paddy	12.40	712	56.04	2785
Millets	13.97	745	16.30	1047
Pulses	1.21	298	3.63	390
Cotton	2.30	137	4.66	334
Sugarcane	4.21	7020	22.22	10682

The increase in production in case of millets and pulses has not been that sharp as in the case of Rice, Cotton and Sugarcane. In order to cater to the needs of the people, and also keeping in view the population growth, it is very much essential to direct all the efforts to raise the production of not only cereals but also millets, pulses and oil-seeds in the state.

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THE SOCIO - ECONOMIC DIMENSIONS OF MIGRANT TAMILS

(FROM 1961 TO 1981)

S. Dharmaraj

Mobility of mankind leads to better standard of living. It is a psychic desire of man that implies the evolution of his movement from the hunting stage to the pastoral, then to agriculture and in turn industry and now from industry to post-industrial society. Man's movement persists. In this fabric of stages of movement of man, the continuing thread is the 'Migration' from one place to another in search of socio-economic betterment of life. This paper is confined to the socio-economic dimensions of migrant Tamils in the metropolitan city of Madras, the Capital of Tamil Nadu for the period from 1961 to 1981.

Cause of Migration

The Migration of Tamils has been a continuous process from the period of Tolkāppiyam down to the present day. According to Tolkāppiyam, *'ஓதல் பகையே தூதிவை பிரிவே'*, that is migration is caused by pursuit of education *(ஓதல்)*, to combat enemies *(பகை)*, as envoys of Tamil kings in foreign courts *(தூது)*. The Puṟattiṇai *(புறத்திணை)* of Tolkāppiyam primarily deals with war and war affairs which is concerned with conquering the land of neighbouring king by extending territories to acquire more land, more gold and more wealth. *'மைந்து பொருளாக வந்த வேந்தன்'*, is an excerpts from Tolkāppiyam which indicates that the causes for a war between one king and other was based on socio-economic reasons.

'வள்ளியோர்ப் படர்ந்து புள்ளின்போகி
நெடிய என்னாது சுரம் பலகடந்து'

is another illustration.

The Saṅgam literature *'பொருள் வயிற் பிரிவு'*, reveals that the aims and aspects of migration of Tamils were mainly based on socio-economic objectives. All these migratory flow of ancient Tamils were mainly caused by the socio-economic motives. In short, in the process of socio-economic development, migratory flow of people from one place to another is inevitable and also relevant to modern days.

Concept of Migration

The term 'Migration' refers to the movement or shift of people from their places of origin to new ones. Every act of migration involves a place of origin and a place of destination whether it is near or far, domestic territory or overseas countries. It cannot be defined with single word, and there is no universally accepted definition of migration. It is applicable only in the case of relatively settled people. It is a form of spatial mobility of people between one geographical unit and other with a permanent change of residence. E.S. Lee also uses 'Migration' by implication to mean a permanent or semi-permanent change of residence.

It is pertinent to point out here that the ancient Tamil merchants who had trade links with Rangoon, Singapore, Jawa, Sumatra seemed to have permanently settled there and some returned to their places of origin in Tamilnadu. Similarly the Tamil migrant workers who had permanently settled at the plantation areas of SriLanka are still having their nexus with their respective places of origin. This type of migration is known as 'historic migration', according to Zachariah.

Types of Migration

Migration consists of two sub-divisions 'emigration' means moving out of the place of origin and 'immigration' entering into the new place of destination. The major types are internal and international migration, the former concerns with economic development and the latter refers to crossing international boundaries, both refer to the accelerating of socio-economic development process. The economic heritage of Tamils reflects mainly in the internal migration through centuries from the age of Tolkāppiyam down to the modern time.

Migratory Trend Among Ancient Tamils

The barter system of economics of ancient Tamils means the small traders in those days used to exchange their goods and commodities, because all goods and commodities required for human consumption are not available in one place. Hence, the producer of one commodity would necessarily move towards another place not only in search of market for his product but also to acquire essential commodities for his own consumption. For example, 'தேன் கொடுத்து மீன்பெறுதல்'. The trader of honey from Kuriñci land, the hilly areas used to move towards Neytal land the sea-shore ports to exchange honey for fish. This is not only a simple and significant illustration of domestic trade and commerce of ancient Tamils but also an amplified portrate of the socio-economic condition of the Tamil people of that period of time by internal migration in those days in the absence of 'money', the Modern Medium of Exchange.

Turning to Ārruppaṭai (ஆற்றுப்படை) literature, it is found that except for Tirumurukārrupaṭai the other works such as Cirupāṇārruppaṭai, Perumpāṇārruppaṭai, Porunarārruppaṭai and so on are the reflections of the needy poet's exhortations to the philanthropists and kings to gain wealthy gifts including land, jewellery and allied luxuries. It is an illuminating example for the induced migration based on economic reasons which is considered to be one of the types of internal migration of ancient Tamils.

பெற்ற வளம் பெறாஅர்க்கு அறவுறீஇச்
சென்று பயன் எதிரச் சொன்ன பக்கமும்

Similarly, the informations about the mode of dealings of the salt traders with other dealers of paddy, grains and grams are available in Cirupāṇārruppaṭai in Tamil literature.

'நோன் பகட்டு உமணர் ஒழுகையோடு வந்த',

என்ற வரியில் வரிசை வரிசையாகப் பிற இடங்களுக்குச் சென்று உப்பு விற்றமை புலனாம்.

This indicates a Dorothy Thoma's 'irrigationstream' refered by K.C. zachariah, an expert of internal migration in the Indian sub continent. This means a group of migrants with a common origin and destination move for trade and commerce.

ஒன்னாத் தெவ்வர் உலைவிடத்து ஒழித்த
விசும்பு செல் இவுளியோடு பசும்படை தரீஇ

is another example from Perumpāṇārṟuppaṭai.

Global Trend

Historically, it is an accepted fact that the impact of migration on the process of economic development has been beneficial to the economically and socially advanced countries of the Western world. The overall economic growth of many industrially advanced countries was closely associated with the movement of laborers from rural to urban area. This was characterised by the gradual reallocation of workers from agriculture to industry through rural-urban internal migration.

During the later half of the twentieth century, the rural-urban internal migration has assumed a greater proportion and is highly significant in the developing countries. Internal migration is said to be a natural process in which 'surplus labour' is gradually siphoned off from the rural to urban sector for the needed manpower to promote industrial growth. In other words, migratory movement is from agriculture sector to industrial sector. The rural-urban migration for the developing countries, such as India, is of greater relevance in the development experience.

During the post-world war period many nations had to resort to migration either to attain freedom or stabilise the balance of payments equilibrium (comprising visible and invisible exports and imports of goods and services). The balance of trade deals with goods whereas the balance of payment includes services such as shipping, banking, insurance and investments.

Tamil Nadu Scenario

To supplement the above conceptual and theoretical aspects of migration and its impact on socio-economic development, illustrative extracts from my doctoral dissertation on "Migration and Development: A case study of socio-economic conditions of migrant workers of two Industrial Estates in TamilNadu", would be in order and appropriate to substantiate the foregoing observation.

Sample Survey

Inspired by the global and national studies the researcher undertook a survey of socio-economic conditions of 400 migrant workers of the twin industrial estates namely Guindy and Ambattur located in Madras Metropolitan Area for a period of two decades, 1961-1981.

The basic objectives of the study were :

(i) To ascertain to what extent the employment expectation in the industrial estates situated in Madras city had induced rural-urban migration, and

(ii) To examine whether the migrant rural weak had been enabled to improve his socio-economic status after migrating to Madras.

The salient findings of the Ph.D research projects are extracted below :

More than four-fifth of the migrants hailed from rural areas of Tamil Nadu.

The Modal class of age-groups of migrant workers was 26 to 30 years.

Seven out of ten migrant workers has come from the places situated beyond 300 km from Madras seeking employment.

Prospects of better employment, awareness of job opportunities in Industrial Estate emerged as the twin dominant causes of migration.

Nearly one-half of the migrants had technical qualifications.

Only one in eleven of the migrants received their employment opportunity through the services of employment exchange.

The Feedback Effect

The feed back effect of rural-urban migration is considered to be an effective instrument of socio-economic change. The comparative socio-economic conditions of migrant workers before migration at their places of origin and after migration in Madras city are as follows :

Thirty percent of migrants did not own any property at their native places before migration.

Nearly one-fourth of migrants had been able to acquire house sites, houses, vehicles either fully owned or on hire-purchase basis in Madras city after migration.

It is significant that one-in-ten of the migrants was in a position to acquire land or house in native place with savings made after migration to Madras city.

One-third of the migrants regularly visit their native places once a year thereby exhibiting their nexus with rural habitate.

Three-fifth of the migrants remit money to relatives in native places from their earnings in Madras after migration.

Conclusion

The findings about the socio-economic conditions of migrant Tamils in the industrial region of Madras should be more or less congruent with the process of economic development of all the states in India. Thus, Man's movement continues.

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COMMERCIAL BROADCASTS OVER 'AIR' AND ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT OF THE TAMILS

V. Thiruvengadam

Advertising over the All India Radio in India in fact, began with broadcasting in India. The Indian Broadcasting Company which started operation in July 1927 used both spot and sponsored advertisements to finance a part of its expenditure. The activity continued upto 1934 when, as a result of pressure exerted on the Government, the commercial operation had to be discontinued. After three decades or so, the CHANDA COMMITTEE recommended to introduce advertising on the radio and as per this recommendation the Government of India decided to introduce commercial advertising in the Vividh Bharathi Service of AIR.

The Committee's recommendations were primarily intended to make AIR a fully economically viable unit and to secure a source of finance for its expansion and modernisation. To achieve this objective the committee stressed the view that the additional revenue would have to be generated by AIR by acceptance of Commercial Advertisements in its broadcast. Thus was born the Commercial broad casting in AIR by introducing Commercial Advertising in the Vividh Bharathi Service from Bombay - Poona - Nagpur with effect from 1st November 1967.

The Commercial Broadcasting Service was subsequently extended to 30 stations and in Tamilnadu it was started from the MADRAS-TIRUCHIRAPALLY stations on 13-4-69 coinciding with the auspicious TAMIL NEW YEAR DAY. Thus with the Tamil New Year Day

of 1969 a new fillip to commercial development of the Tamil community was given by AIR.

In the early days of the commercial service, the service won for three consecutive years the Best Advertiser Award. The Central Sales Unit of the CBS is initiated in Bombay and the bookings are made in regional centres like MADRAS also.

Advertisements in Commercial Broadcast Service initially were allotted 7", 15", 30" & 60". Later the 60" spot was dropped and 5 time duration of 7", 10" , 15", 20" & 30" were introduced.

While CBS started with spots on 1-10-67, sponsored programmes were first introduced on Bombay - Pune - Nagpur from 3-5-1970 and were gradually extended to all other CBS centres. Sponsored programmes are of 5, 10, 15, & 30 minutes duration and are devised and produced by outside agencies.

The rates bear relation to the power of transmitters, population reached and other related factors.

The Commercial Advertisements were introduced over the primary channel of AIR on an experimental basis from DELHI before and after English and Hindi national news bulletions as PHASE-I with effect from 1-4-82. This scheme was extended to cover all the AIR stations as PHASE-II with effect from 26-1-1985. In Tamilnadu it was started on 9-3-85 from MADRAS, TIRUCHIRAPALLI and COIMBATORE stations. Pondicherry station of the union territory also joined. Recently in July 1992 MADURAI started broadcasting commercial advertisements. Percentage of ad content is as follows : Vividh Bharathi 20% ordinary days 25% during festivals on the primary channel it is 20% during film songs and 25% during other programmes.

Over the years, since its inception in Nov. 1967 commercial broadcasting service of All India Radio has served as an effective instrument for advertisers to publicise their goods and services.

All India Radio as a public service broadcasting organisation has a responsibility to ensure that the advertisements either in terms

of content, tone or treatment, do not mislead the listener/consumer or are not repungant to good taste. Indeed AIR is keen that the advertisements should be educative in the broadest sense of the term.

A code for commercial Broadcasting was brought out in 1968 and subsequently revised to make it more comprehensive. It spells out the do's and don't's in unequivocal and categorical terms.

The code also incorporates the code of Ethics for Advertising in India devised by the Advertising council of India, code of standards in relation to the advertising of medicines and terms and standards of practice for advertising agencies by way of appendages to reinforce provisions of the main code of All India Radio.

Advertising is an important and legitimate means for the seller to awaken interest in his goods and services. The success of advertising depends on public confidence. Hence no practise should be permitted which tends to impair this confidence.

Along with the development of a very complex distribution system, the requirements of a market economy, faced with the need for ensuring a regular flow of mass production, have given rise to the development of the new techniques of sales production. Of these radio advertising has proved to be of immense value for producers and distributors as well as for consumers. It enables the former to maintain contact with customers who are widely scattered and often unknown and it assists the latter in choosing those goods and services that are the best suited to their particular requirements.

The general aims of Commercial Broadcasting over AIR include, besides providing a channel for additional revenue :

a) to help in agricultural and industrial production particularly the commodities used for mass consumption;

b) to bring the advertiser and consumer nearer; and

c) to encourage healthy competition among producers.

Commercial broadcasting over AIR has registered a noticeable impact on the economic development of a region besides cultural and aesthetic life of the regions covered by the service. Both private and public sector enterprises take advantage of this new medium. National campaigns for small savings, family planning, banking are also covered in the commercial service.

The Vividh Bharathi's light entertainment programmes, film music, on the primary channel provide a convenient medium for plugging in advertisements in between two items. Spots are allowed on primary channel during film songs, farm and home programme, women's programmes, light music, before and after news bulletin. In sports commentaries sponsorship is allowed for plays, sound track, programme for women, programme for youth, special programme on western music, folksongs, folk plays, etc.

Commercial advertisements are booked mainly through advertising agencies. With effect from 1-6-88 the agencies are divided into two categories viz., "Accredited" and "Registered". Accredited agencies are entitled to credit facilities whereas "registered" agencies have to make advance payments for their bookings. All the agencies are entitled to 15% commission.

Advertisements are also accepted from the advertisers directly but they are not entitled to any commissions and they are required to do advance payments. Registered small scale industries get a concession of 15%; advance payment is compulsory. Public sector undertakings, State and Central government departments are also entitled to 15% commission if they book their advertisements directly and not through advertising agencies. They are also entitled to credit facilities as per accredited agencies.

All companies in which 51% and more shares are held by government or government and co-operatives combined together will be entitled to a 10% concession on advertisements booked by them directly on AIR. No credit facilities.

To help companies to provide for Radio advertising in their annual budget bulk booking on annual is done. The allotment of time is made generally on first come first served basis.

The above is the commercial broadcast system and scenario in All India Radio. Now on to the impact of commercial broadcasting service in the economic developments of Tamils. AIR's advertisement tariff is the cheapest, considering the impact value reach, variety, attraction etc., Even a casual look at the tariff card will convince any one that the rates are the cheapest. So all kinds of business and commercial enterprises have used it and are using it. There are some success stories which are from 'close to the rags to riches', story. Anonymity cannot be avoided while describing this success story of a small time company who made it "big" thanks to AIR's commercial advertisements.

Some years ago a certain manufacturer of imitation jewellery was a small timer and naturally spurned the advise made by an agent for Ad. over all India Radio. But when Ad. agent agreed to pay the initial cost and also await the result, the businessman reluctantly agreed. The advertisement worked and from trickle of customers he saw milling crowd in his shop in a few days. Today he owns a chain of shops and makes money in laks as against a few hundreds and thousands earlier.

This is a classic case of manufacturer or producer of goods making big money out of AIR advertising. In fact the whole range of products which an average consumer needs is advertised over AIR for a certain profit advantage.

Besides being a fillip to producers, commercial advertising service of All India Radio has created employment opportunities for several kinds of people.

1. The Ad. writer

2. The actors

3. Music directors and performers

4. Drama voices for presentation

5. Recordists
6. Experts on producers for private studios
7. Private studios with managers, engineers etc.,
8. Creation of opportunity for Ad. agents.

To elaborate this point I would like to state here that there are 68 accredited agencies and 78 registered agencies in Tamilnadu. There are 56 agencies under S.S.I in Tamilnadu. All these have created good employment opportunities. There are also audio recording studios where employment opportunities have arisen on account of the type of activity. Singers, drama actors, engineers and others have found opportunities in these studios. Such opportunities are now available in cities and towns outside Madras also thus enlarging the scope of mofussal youth also. In view of strict adherence to the code by AIR the manufacturers and producers have greater accountability and so they carefully make their claims as to quality of the product. The consumer can question the producer and the responsibilities of proving his claiming squarely rest on the producer.

If one analyses the frequencies or intensity of the advertisement sought for certain consumer articles one will not fail to notice products like "Regal" ultra marine drops, "Nirma" soap, "Ujala" - blue for cloths are booking their advertisements on a large scale. At the moment there is heavy demands for Ad. time over AIR. But because of the restrictions, AIR is unable to increase the allocations of time for advertisements. Demand for sponsorship is also increasing. They sponsor the variety of programmes - women's programmes, plays etc.,

Shri P.S. Deodhar who is the chairman of a high power Committee on AIR time allotment over All India Radio and Doordharshan has been meeting producers and advertisers all over the country and assessing their interest, capability etc., for AIR time over the FM service of AIR and on Doordharshan.

An FM Transmitter at Madras with the range of 40 Kms is going to be converted into a private producer's channel giving about 7

hours of broadcast time for commercial purposes. This is expected to encourage more commercial activity.

The revenue figures of commercial broadcasts in Tamilnadu should be quoted here to support the statement about the kind of generation of economy activity in Tamilnadu.

The Vividh Bharathi centres in Tamilnadu viz., Madras and Tiruchy have made between themselves a net revenue of over 4.7 crores of Rs. in 91-92. In this Madras share is nearly 3 crores. The revenue figures from the primary Channel Advts., that is Madras, Trichy, Coimbatore, and Pondicherry (Madurai has joined in July 92) is 3.6 crores. Again Madras has major share of over one crore of rupees. If only AIR increases Ad. time, more revenue can be made. Very soon Madras AIR will open doors for private production and presentation of western music programmes on two days in a week. Two full-time slots are going to be given to a company called 24th Century incorporated.

The credibility that AIR enjoys and the reach it provides to the advertiser added to the attractive format and content of the ads. make Radio advertising a popular forum for producers and manufacturers.

On the agricultural front AIR's commercial service is playing a significant role through its specialised hard-core programmes for agriculturists. Here Ad. time is bought by the manufacturers of fertilizers, pesticides and insecticides. These Ads not only speak of their product but of the scientific details and technology of application of these measures to maximise agricultural production. In 1966 when Green Revolution was ushered in the country through scientific agricultural practices, it was AIR's support that made the revolution a grand success. Its role in the dissemination of messages for cultivation has been commended by one and all. Because of its high listenership fertilizer and pesticide manufacturers have poured their money into Ads. in Farm Broadcast time. Here again there is a persistent demand for more Ad time. If TN's agricultural production is always comfortable and also in the top rungs of achievers in this area, AIR's role cannot be overlooked.

Today we talk of Free Market Economy as the way out of our economic impasse. It is AIR's commercial service which played a quite or more precisely - sweet sounding service from 1967 onwards; this is the greatest contribution in this direction.

Competition is the essence of free enterprise. Such competition along absolutely ethical lines ensured by strict adherence to a CODE has been generated by AIR's commercial service. TN has been one of the states in the top of the list of users of this service. Therefore its impact on the economy can be guessed.

Any economic activity even when market forces are in control has to ensure protection of consumer's rights. AIR's commercial service code ensures and guarantees such right to the consumer. As I said earlier the consumer has every right to question the veracity of the claim made by the advertiser and the responsibility in proving his claims lies with the advertiser.

More production, more business, more competition, more informations, more money, more employment opportunity is the success story of AIR commercial broadcasting service. Its impact on the economic development of the Tamils is too obvious to be stated, but, a seminar will have to do its research and record.

Range and type of products advertised over all All India Radio

Consumer Products	:	Soaps - toilet and washing, Detergent powders, liquids, Sweet shops and hotels, coffee, tea, Furnitures, Cosmetics including talcum powder and Hair oils, Dress material, Readymade clothes, Textile shops, Gold covering, Tooth powders/pastes, Flour products, Agarbathis, Masala powders, Cooking oils.
Industrial	:	Motors, grinders, mixies, watches, fans, fridge, washing machines,

		suitcases, TVs, Radios, Roofing sheets, optical glasses, electrical goods, cement, tapes and records.
Agricultural products	:	Fertilisers, Pesticides, Insecticides.
Heavy Industrial Products	:	Tractors, Oil pumps, motors, irrigation system, pipes, sprayers and dusters.
Others	:	Trade Fairs, Exhibitions, Beach Resorts, Films, Calendars, Lotteries (Govt.), Show rooms.
Medical / Herbal	:	Balms, Shampoos, Health Tonics, Hair oils, vapour rub, digestive tablets.
Govt. Direct	:	Family Welfare, Small Savings.
Public Sector	:	HMT, FACT, Modern Bread, LIC, GIC, Nationalised Banks.
Cooperatives	:	TNSC, MCC & KCC Banks
SSI	:	Cleaning powder, coffee powder, nut powder, turmeric powder.



VISUAL MEDIA AND ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT

Aranthai Manian

Although the phrase "Visual-Media" encomposses all Fine-Arts activities like music, dance, drama, painting and architecture, it is broadly accepted to denote only the more popular mediums such as cinema and television.

Television is only an extension of cinema. In cinema the images are recorded on celluloid film, whereas, in television the images are recorded on magnetic-tapes.

As this seminar is concerned only on the 'Economic Heritage of the Tamils', I have taken up for study only the films produced and seen in Tamilnadu and by Tamilians and the programmes telecast by the Doordharshan Kendra, Madras.

Films can be broadly classified into three categories, namely, feature films, short films and documentaries.

Feature films are those based on fiction with mass-entertainment as their purpose.

Short films include news-reels and actualities with or without a specific-theme.

Documentary-films are non-fiction films with specific themes.

Although the earliest attempt in film-making in India was on news-reels and actualities shot as early as in 1911 ("The Coronation - Durbar of King George") the first feature film was made in Bombay in 1913 ("Raja Harischandra - a silent film by D.G. Phalke).

After Bombay and Calcutta, it was Madras that produced the first silent-movie of the South "Kicaka Vatam" in the year 1916. Today Madras produces more than 400 films every year in all four South Indian languages and Hindi. Madras can be rightfully called the "Film-capital of the world", as no other centre in the world produces so much films.

The first Talkie film in Tamil was (காளிதாஸ்) "KALIDAS" produced in 1931 at Bombay. Since then more than 3,700 films have been made in Tamil upto 31st December 1992 (excluding hundreds of films dubbed into Tamil from other languages).

During the 'Silent-film era' (i.e. 1916 to 1930) there were many 'short films' made in Madras. They were mostly news-reels and on actual events that took place in Tamilnadu like festivals, rituals and cultural - events. There was not even a single film on 'economic-development' during the 'silent-era'.

When we look at the 'Talkie-films' that have been made since films were of 'escapist-entertainment' variety catering only to the barest-entertainment-instincts of the Tamil masses. Here the films are neither an 'art-form' nor an organised industry; but a gamble, or a money-making business which does not care about the aesthetics or the artistic-expression of the film-makers.

Of course, there have been attempts in about two dozens of Tamil films to highlight the patriotic-fervour (in the films made during late-thirties to late-forties), anti-liquor and anti-dowry compaings. Some films tried to focus the plight of the widows; some on the theme of 'untouchability'. In some films there was a plea for a better social-status for women and some on the programmes like 'Harijan-development'.

After Independence, in the absence of a powerful-motivation such as struggle for freedom, the 'social-reform-movement' of Tamilnadu raked up many fundamental questions about the basic fabric of Tamil society, including the removal of 'untouchability', anti-brahminism, anti-caste, 'sons-of-the-soil' policy etc. All these questions were directly or

indirectly raised in the films made during late 1940s, throughout 1950s and upto mid 1960s.

Stories and roles selected and enacted especially by Mr. M.G. Ramachandran were perfect examples of how cinema as a 'propaganda-medium' could be effectively used in changing the political and social aspects of a large population. His portrayals in every film helped creating an image for himself and at the same time helped imbibing such values in the minds of the cine-going public.

But it has to be stressed here that no serious attempt has been made in any of the Tamil films so far, on the economic development of Tamils. Even in some films where the hero was shown as one who strives for the upliftment of the down-trodden, it was only a pseudo-concern and aimed at upliftment of the image of the hero. As the makers of films have been concerned only about the commercial-success of their films, they do not normally give a damn about inculcating the ideology of economic development and avoided them as a mere 'propaganda-stuff'.

Next comes the documentaries and short-films. Most of the documentaries and news-reels we see in our theatres just before the main-film are the monopoly-products of the Film Division, Bombay. They are normally made first in Hindi or English and then dubbed in different languages and sent to almost all the theatres throughout the country. Some of the documentaries made by Films Division have been excellently aimed at economic development of the country and people. But they were aimed at an all India audience and not on Tamilnadu and Tamils alone.

The news reels produced by the Tamilnadu Films Division are only chronicles of the events in which top-politicians and bureaucrats participate. They do not normally imbibe the ideology of economic development in the minds of the Tamil audience.

Some private producers have made some interesting documentaries and short-films on specific projects such as Neiveli Lignite

Mines, Integral Coach Factory, Hindustan Photofilms Factory at Ooty etc. But they are less in number and unfortunately the short-film-movement by private enterprenuers has not taken of properly in Tamilnadu.

This so far has been the track-record of the film-medium.

Next, we can take up television. Television, the wonder invention of this century is a very powerful media and can play a vital role with the enormous influence it can wield over millions.

The Madras Doordharshan Kendra was started on 15th August 1975. The motto of television is said to be, 'education, information and entertainment' in that order. But the order is completely reverse now.

Although 22% of the television programmes are supposed to be development oriented, 'entertainment' programmes occupy almost 90% of the viewing time. That too, borrowed from the film-industry. Films, song and dance sequences from films, clippings of film-scenes ("Tirai Malar", "Tirai tuḷi" etc.) and interviews with film-stars are regular diet offered to the entertainment crazy audience. Without developing its own characteristic, the Doordharshan has become a clumsy - clown imitating the film - industry. Even the timings allotted for some development - programmes like "Vayalum Vāḻvum", "Vāḻkkai-k-Kalvi", "Nantavaṉam" and "Uḻaippavar Ulakam" are very meagre and haphazard.

No specific programme on 'economic development' has so far been introduced by Doordharshan. Nor any focus is being given on the economic development achieved by Tamilians if any.

With such a reputation, Television programmes are not likely to improve in the near future, especially when they are facing a monstrous competitor - the satellite - television like 'Star TV', 'Zee TV' etc.

If at all there has been any development, it is the economic development for the people connected with film industry and television industry. As crores of rupees are invested every year in making dozens of Tamil films, the industry gives employment to lakhs of people directly and indirectly. The Artistes, Technicians, Laboratory people, the Theatre

staff, Publicists, Printers, the Celluloid factory workers and so on are fully dependent on the film industry for livelihood.

And so with television - thousands are employed with television set manufacturers, Doordharshan staff and technicians and other working in allied industries.

In conclusion, it may be observed that the visual media has not played its vital role in the economic development of the Tamils in any way and the future too does not promise anything exciting in this respect.

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பாரதிதாசன் பொருளாதாரச் சிந்தனைகள்

மா. அண்ணாதுரை

பாவேந்தர் பாரதிதாசன் புதுச்சேரியில் 29-4-1891 ஆம் ஆண்டில் தோன்றியவர்; தற்காலக் கவிஞர்களில் ஒருவர்; புரட்சிக் கவிஞர் என்று தமிழக மக்களால் போற்றப் பட்டவர்; மக்களுக்காகப் பாடிய மக்கள் கவிஞர்; இவர் தொடாத துறைகள் இல்லை; தொட்ட துறைகளைத் துலங்கச் செய்த மாபெரும் கவிஞர்; தத்துவம், கல்வி, அரசியல், கலை, பண்பாடு, சமயம், அறிவியல் போன்ற பல்துறைகளில் துறை போகிய இவர் பொருளாதாரச் சிந்தனைகள் வழங்கியுள்ளார் என்பதும் உண்மையே.

மலரில் மணமுள்ளது போல், மேகத்தில்மழை உள்ளது போல், கரும்பில் கற்கண்டு உள்ளதுபோல், பாவேந்தரின் படைப்புகளில் பொருளாதாரச் சிந்தனைகள்-பொருளாதாரக் கொள்கைகள்-பொருளாதார நெறிகள் பல இடம் பெற்றிருப்பதைக் காணலாம்.

1. பாவேந்தர்க்குமுன் பொருளியல் சிந்தனைகள்

ஏறக்குறைய 200 ஆண்டுகளுக்குமுன் 'பொருளியல்' என்னும் பகுப்புத் தனியாக இருந்தது இல்லை. 1776ஆம் ஆண்டு 'நாடுகளின் செல்வம்' **(Wealth of Nations)** எனும் பொருளியல் சிந்தனை நூலை ஆடம் ஸ்மித் **(Adam Smith)** வெளியிட்ட பின்தான் பொருளியல் பகுப்பு ஏற்பட்டது. இருப்பினும், இதற்குமுன் பொருளியல் சிந்தனைகள் இல்லாமல் இல்லை. மனிதன் தோன்றிய பொழுதே மனித வாழ்க்கையில் பொருளியல் சிந்தனைகள் இருந்தன.

பாவேந்தர்க்கு முன் தோன்றிய ஜீன் சார்லஸ் சிஸ்மாண்டி, புனித சைமன், ஆல்பிரட் மார்சல், காரல் மார்க்ஸ், கிங்ஸ்லி புரோதன் கிரார்ப்ட் ஓவன், லூயி பிளாங், மால்தூஸ் போன்றோர்

பொருளியல் கருத்துக்கள் - சிந்தனைகள் வழங்கியது போலவே பாரதிதாசனும் பொருளியல் சிந்தனைகள் பல தந்துள்ளார். நிலம், சொத்து, உழைப்பு, தொழிலாளர், மூலதனம், உற்பத்தி, விற்பனை, கூலி, மதிப்பு, வேளாண் தொழில் வளர்ச்சி, வாணிகம், சுரண்டல் போன்றவற்றைத் தெரிவிக்கும் பொருளியல் கருத்துக்களைத் தம் கவிதைகளில், கட்டுரைகளில், நாடகங்களில், வெளிப்படுத்தி யுள்ளார் பாவேந்தர். எள்ளிலிருந்து எண்ணெய் எடுப்பதுபோல், கடல் நீரில் உப்பு பெறுவதுபோல், நெல்லில் அரிசி கிடைப்பது போல் பாவேந்தர் படைப்பு களிலிருந்து பொருளாதாரச் சிந்தனைகளை வணிகவாதம் **(Mercantalism)**, இயற்கைவாதம் **(Physiocracy)**, சமதர்மம் **(Socialism)**, முதலாளித்துவம் **(Capitalism)**, கலப்புப் பொருளாதாரம் **(Mixed Economy)**, நலப் பொருளியல் **(Welfare Economics)**, ஏழ்மைப் பொருளியல் **(Poverty Economics)**, வேளாண் பொருளியல் **(Agricultural Economics)** போன்ற உட் பிரிவுகளில் திரட்டி, எடுத்துரைக்கலாம்.

2. பாவேந்தரின் பொருளியல் சிந்தனைகளின் தேவை

சமுதாயம் மாறுதலுக்கு உட்பட்டது. சமுதாயத்தின் ஓர் அங்கமான மனிதன் மாறுதலுக்குட்பட்டவன். மனிதனின் பழக்கவழக்கம் மாறுதலுக்குட்பட்டது; அறிவியல் மாறுதலுக் குட்பட்டது. மாறிவரும் தமிழ்ச் சமுதாயத்தில், பாரதிதாசனின் பொருளியல் சிந்தனைகள் தமிழக வரலாற்றை - தமிழ் மக்களின் வாழ்க்கைத் தரத்தை - தமிழகப் பொருளியல் வளர்ச்சியை அறிவதற்கு உதவும்; பொருளியல் பற்றி தனித்துறையாகப் பாவேந்தர் படித்ததில்லை. ஆனால், பிளாட்டோ, வள்ளுவர், பாரதியார், காந்தியடிகள் போன்றே பொருளாதாரச் சிந்தனைகள் பல வழங்கியவர் பாவேந்தர்.

3. பாவேந்தரும் இயற்கை வாதியும்

18ம் நூற்றாண்டில் இயற்கைப் பொருள் வாதிகள் தோன்றி, 'எல்லாம் இயற்கையின் அடிப்படையில்தான்' **(Rule of Nature)** இயங்கும் எனும் கோட்பாட்டைப் பிரெஞ்சு நாட்டில் தோற்றுவித்தனர். பிரெஞ்சு புரட்சி தோன்ற வழிவகுத்தனர். இவர்களின் தத்துவம் மத அடிப்படையில் அமைந்ததாகும். இயற்கையின் கொடை கடவுளால் வழங்கப்பட்டது என்று கருதினர். கடவுளால் வழங்கப்பட்ட இயற்கையே மனிதனின் மகிழ்ச்சியைப் பெருக்குகிறது என்று நம்பினர்.

சமுதாய அமைப்பிற்குச் சொத்து, பாதுகாப்பு, சுதந்திரம் ஆகிய இம்மூன்றும் அடிப்படைக் கூறுகள் என்று கூறும் இயற்கைப் பொருள்வாதிகள், சமத்துவக் கொள்கையை ஏற்க வில்லை; அரசின் தலையிடலை ஏற்கவில்லை; உயிரையும் உடைமைகளையும் பாதுகாப்பது அரசின் கடமை என்று கருதினர். ஆனால், பாவேந்தர் இயற்கைப் பொருள் முதல் வாதியாக இருப்பினும், அடிப்படைக் கருத்தில் மாறுபடுகின்றார். கடவுள் இயற்கையைப் படைத்தார் என்பதை ஏற்றுக் கொள்ள வில்லை; சொத்துரிமை ஏற்கவில்லை; சமத்துவக் கொள்கையிலேயே உறுதியாக இருந்தார் பாவேந்தர்.

4. பொருளியல் சொற்களின் விளக்கம்

பாவேந்தர் தோன்றிய 19 ஆம் நூற்றாண்டிற்கு முன்பு வரையில், பொருளியல் சிந்தனை அரசியல் சிந்தனையின் ஒரு பகுதியாகவே கருதப்பட்டது. பொருளியல் சிந்தனை வளர வளர, பொருளியல் கோட்பாடுகள் தனியியலாக உருவாக்கப்பட்டது. பாவேந்தர் ஒரு புரட்சிக் கவிஞர்; அரசியலில் எழுத்தறிவு இயக்கத்தில் பெருந்தலைவர். எனவேதான், அரசியற்கருத்தும் பொருளியல் கருத்தும் இரண்டறக் கலந்து, தம் படைப்புகளில் படைத்துக்காட்டும் பாங்கினைக் காணலாம். 'அரசியல் வகையின் அயல்மொழிப் பெயர்கள்' எனும் தலைப்பில் 1946 ஆம் ஆண்டில் 'குயில் ஒரு பெயர்ப்பன்னூலில்' சோஷலிசம், காப்டலிசம், கம்யூனிசம், பாசிசம், நாசிசம், நியூடிலிசம் ஆகியவைகளின் பொருள் குறித்தும்,

எதனை இவற்றில் ஏற்பாய்?
அதனை உன் நாட்டுக் காக்குக தோழனே![1]

என்று எடுத்துரைத்தும் தம் பொருளியல் சிந்தனையை வெளிப்படுத்துவர் பாவேந்தர்.

4.1 சோசலிசம் (Socialism)

சோசலிசத்தின் விளைநிலம் ஐரோப்பா. இங்கிலாந்தில் வெடித்த தொழிற் புரட்சி 'சோசலிசம்' தோன்றுதற்குக் காரணமாக இருந்தது. 'சோசலிசம்' என்றால் என்ன? இதன் பொருளைப் பலவாறாகப் பொருளியல் அறிஞர்கள் அறுதியிட்டு உரைத்தனர்.

'பகுத்துண்டு பல்லுயிர் ஓம்புதல்'[2]

என்றார் வள்ளுவர்.

> "எனக்குத் தெரிந்த மட்டில்
> சோக்ஷலிசம் என்பது அழகான
> சொல். சோசலிசத்தின் கீழ்ச்
> சமூகத்தில் யாவரும் சமம். உயர்ந்தவர்
> தாழ்ந்தவர் என்பதே கிடையாது...
>
> மனிதனின் அங்கங்கள் எப்படிச்
> சமமோ அவ்வாறே சமூகத்தின்
> எல்லாப் பிரிவினரும் ஒரே
> அளவினர்."[3]

இதுதான் சோசலிசம் என்றார் காந்தியடிகள்.

இந்தியத் திருநாட்டில் நேரு, ஜெயபிரகாஷ் நாராயணன், ஆச்சார்ய நரேந்திர தேவ், லாலா லஜபதிராய், திரு.வி.க., சிங்காரவேல் போன்றோர்கள் சோசலிசக் கொள்கைகளை எடுத்துக்காட்டி, வேரூன்ற செய்த காலத்தில் பாவேந்தர் 'சோசலிசம்' என்பது என்ன? என்பதைத் தெளிவாகத் தமிழ்ச் சமுதாயத்திற்கு உணர்த்தியவர்.

> "இரண்டு கறவைகள் உன்னிடம் இருந்தால்
> அண்டைவீட் டானுக்கொன் றளித்தல் சோசலிசம்"[4]

4.2 காப்டலிசம் (Capitalism)

தொழில் முயற்சி, உயர்வு ஊடுருவி நிற்கின்ற அமைப்பு முறையே முதலாளித்தும் என்று கூறுவர் மேக்ஸ் வேபர் (Maxes waber) கூலி அடிமைத்தனம், ஆதாயத்திற்காக உற்பத்தி, எச்ச மதிப்பு ஆகிய இயல்புகளைக் கொண்டது முதலாளித்துவம் என்றும் பொருள் விளக்கம் தருவர் காரல் மார்க்ஸ் (Karl Marx), தனியார் சொத்துடமை, நுகர்வோர் சுதந்திரம், தொழில் முயற்சி சுதந்திரம், இலாப நோக்கம், போட்டிப் பொருளாதாரம், வகுப்புப்போர், முரண்பட்ட வாணிபச்சூழல், விலை முறை ஆகியவைகளின் அடிப்படையில் அமைந்ததுதான் தனியுடைமைத் தத்துவம். முதலாளித்துவம் என்பதன் பொருள் பற்றி எளிய முறையில் பாமரரும் உணரும் வகையில் கூறுவர் பாவேந்தர் :

> "கறவைகள் இரண்டில் கடிதொன்றை விற்றுக்
> காளை வாங்குவது 'காப்டலிசமாம்"[5]

4.3 கம்யூனிசம் (Communism)

கம்யூனிசம் முதலாளித்துவக் கொள்கையில் இருந்து மலர்ந்தது. பொருளியல் அமைப்புக் கொள்கையும் அரசியல்

அதிகாரங்களும், ஆள்வோரிடம் குவிக்கப்பட்டு இருக்கும். நாட்டின் உடைமைகள் மக்களின் தேவைக்கு ஏற்ப, பகிர்ந்து ஆளுவோரால் அளிக்கப்படும். வாணிபப் பொருளாதாரம் யாவும் அரசிடமே இருக்கும். சம ஊதியமும், வாழ்விற்கு வேண்டிய வசதிகளும் அரசால் கொடுக்கப்படும். காரல் மார்க்ஸ், லெனின் போன்றோர் கம்யூனிசக் கொள்கைகள் உலகில் பரவுவதற்குத் துணை நின்றவர்கள்.

கம்யூனிசம் என்றால் என்ன என்று விமர்சனம் நடைபெற்ற காலத்தில், பாவேந்தர் 'கம்யூனிசம்' பற்றி இரண்டு வரிகளில் அழகுற படைத்துக்காட்டுவர்.

> **"ஆவிரண்டினையும் ஆள்வார்க்கு விற்றுத்**
> **தேவைக்குப் பால்பெறச் செப்பல் 'கம்யூனிசம்' "[6]**

4.4 பாசிசம் (Facism)

இரண்டு உலகப் போர்கள் நிகழ்ந்த கால இடைவெளியில் எல்லா வல்லமையும் பொருந்திய இத்தாலி நாட்டு சர்வாதிகாரியான முசோலினி என்பவரால் தோற்றுவிக்கப் பட்டதுதான் பாசிசம். கொடுங்கோல் அமைப்பு கொண்ட அரசாக, அதன் தலைவர் சர்வாதிகார போக்குடையவராக, கட்டுப்பாடு மிகுந்த சமூக அமைப்பு கொண்டதாக, இனப் பாகுபாடு மிகுந்த கொள்கைகள் உடையதாக, அரசியல் எதிர்ப்பை அழிக்கும் பண்பை உடையதாகப் பாசிசம் விளங்கியது.

பாசிசக் கொடுமையையும், பொருளியல் கோட்பாட்டினையும், அதன் உட்பொருளினையும் பின்வருமாறு பாவேந்தர் விளக்குவர் :

> **"பகர் இருகறவையைப் பறித்த ஆள்வோரிடம்**
> **தொகைதந்து பால்பெறச் சொல்வது 'பாசிசம்' "[7]**

4.5 நாசிசம் (Nasism)

நாசிசப் பொருளாதாரக் கொள்கை ஜெர்மன் நாட்டு அரசுத் தலைவர் இட்லரால் உருவாக்கப்பட்டது. நாசிசப் பொருளாதாரக் கோட்பாடு மக்களுக்குப் பெருந் தீங்கினையே விளைவித்தது. சோசலிசப் பொருளியலுக்கு எதிரானது நாசிசம். தொழிலாளர்களின் நல்வாழ்விற்கும் சுதந்திர உணர்வுக்கும் உரிமை வழங்காப் பொருளியல் கோட்பாட்டினைக் கொண்டது நாசிசம்.

"உரியவன் தன்மை ஒழித்தே அவனின்
கறவையி ரண்டையும் கைப்பற்றல் 'நாசிசம்' "[8]

என்று நாசிசம் பற்றி பொருள் விளக்கம் தந்த பாவேந்தர், இட்லரையும், இவரால் தோற்றுவிக்கப்பட்ட நாசிசப் பொருளியல் சிந்தனையையும் வெறுத்தார் :

"இட்லரின் எண்ணம் பலிக்காது – நம
தெல்லையில் நாசிசம் செல்லாது!
உறிட்லரிசத்தை விதைத்திடுவார் – ஆம்
ஏழைகள் தினம் வதைத்திடுவார்"[9]

நாசிசம் நாட்டில் பொருளாதாரச் சீர்குலைவினை ஏற்படுத்தும்; பஞ்சத்தை உண்டாக்கும் என்று குறிப்பிடும் பாவேந்தர், நாசிசப் பொருளியல் கோட்பாடு 'லஞ்சத்தின் மூட்டை' எனத் தெளிவுபடுத்துவர் :

"நாசிசம் லஞ்சத்தின் மூட்டை – வாழ்
நாளும்உண் டாக்குப் பெருங் கேட்டை"[10]

4.6 நியூடிலிசம்

இரண்டாம் உலகப் போருக்குப் பின் உலக நாடுகளிடையே நடுநிலைக் கொள்கைகள் உருவாயிற்று. இதன் அடிப்படையில் பொருளாதாரக் கொள்கைகள் வகுக்கப் பெற்றன. 'நியூடிலிசம்' எனும் இப்பொருளியல் கொள்கையைப் பற்றி பாவேந்தர் பின்வருமாறு குறிப்பிடுவது அறியத்தக்கது. மேலும், இக்கொள்கையில் யாதொரு நன்மையும் நமக்கு விளையப்போவது இல்லை எனவும் கூறுவர் பாவேந்தர் :

"இரண்டு கறவையால் திரண்டபால்
அனைத்தையும்
சாக்கடைக்காக் குவதுதான் 'நியூடிலிசம்' "[11]

5. நிலம்

ஐந்து பகுப்பொருள்களில் ஒன்று மண். இயற்கையில் தோன்றிய மண்ணின் மீது மனிதன் ஆசை கொண்டான்; பற்றுக் கொண்டான். ஏன் எனில் நிலம் வருவாய் தருகிறது; மதிப்புடையதாக விளங்குகிறது; சொத்தாகக் கருதப்படுகிறது; செல்வங்களில் ஒன்றாக எண்ணப்படுகிறது. நீரும், தீயும், காற்றும் பொதுவாக உரிமை உடையதாக - உலகினர்க்கு இருக்கும்போது, நிலம் மட்டும் செல்வந்தர்களின் கையில் இருப்பது மக்களுக்கு நன்மைதரும் செயலாகுமா? என்று வினவுவர் பாவேந்தர்:

"நீர்மொள்ள வும்தீ வளர்க்கவும் காற்றுதனை
நெடுவெளியை அடைவதற்கும்
பலருக்கும் உரிமை. ஏன்? பறிபோகலாகுமோ
பணக்காரர் நன்மை யெல்லாம்
பறித்திட்ட நிலம் ஒன்று! பாக்கியோ நான்குண்டு
பறித்துத் தொலைவிட்டால்
நலமுண்டு! சக...
நற்காற்று வானம்நீர் அனல் பொதுவமைத்தால்
நன்செயும் பொதுவே எனத்
தலையற்ற முண்டங்கள் சொன்னாற்
பெரும்பெரும்
தலையெல்லாம் உம்மில் உண்டு"[12]

5.1 நிலப் பிரபுத்துவம்

உலகம் இயற்கையாகத் தோன்றிய உயர்பொருள். நன்செயும் புன்செயும் தோன்றிய நாளிலிருந்து மக்கள் பண்படுத்தி, பயன்படுத்தி, பலன் பெற்றனர். சமுதாயத்தில் செல்வர், ஏழை என்ற பாகுபாடு தோன்றிய பின், நிலம் செல்வர் கையில் சென்றது. மக்களுடைய நிலத்தை எல்லாம் தமதாக்கிக் கொண்டனர் செல்வர். எனவேதான், 'பூமியைச் சுரண்டுவோன் பெருச்சாளி'[13] என்பர் பாவேந்தர். மேலும், நிலத்தை எல்லாம் சுரண்டி - ஏமாற்றி எடுத்துக்கொண்ட செல்வந்தர்களைக் கண்டிப்பர் பாவேந்தர்:

"பகுத்தறிவு மன்றத்தில் உலகம் என்ற
பழயமுத லாளியினை நிற்கவைத்து
மிகுந்திருந்த உன்நன்செய் புன்செய் யாவும்
வெகுகாலத் தின்முன்னே மக்கள் யாரும்
சுகித்திருக்கக் குத்தகைக்கு விட்டதுஉண்டோ?
சொல்! என்றேன்! உலகப்பன் ஆம்ஆம் என்றான்.
வகுத்த அந்தக் குத்தகைச் சீட்டு முண்டோ?
வாய்ச்சொல்லோ? என்றுரைத்தேன். வாய்ச்சொல்
என்றான்.
குத்தகைக்கா ரர்தமக்குக் குறித்த எல்லை
குறித்தபடி உள்ளதுவோ? என்று கேட்டேன்
கைத்திறனும் வாய்த்திறனும் கொண்டபேர்கள்
கண்மூடி மக்களது நிலத்தை யெல்லாம்
கொத்திக்கொண் டேப்பமிட்டு வந்த தாலே
கூலிமக்கள் அதிகரித்தார்..."[14]

5.2 மண்பொருள் சரிநிகரே எனச் சட்டம் செய்க!

மனிதனுடைய அனைத்துப் பொருளியலின் அடிப்படைக் கோட்பாடுகளும் உண்ண உணவும், உடுத்த உடையும், உறைய உறைவிடமும் வழங்கவேண்டும் என்பதே. இம்மூன்றும் கொடுக்க இயலாத பொருளியல் கொள்கைகள் வீண் என்பதே பாவேந்தரின் பொருளியல் சிந்தனையாகும். உண்ண-உடுக்க-உறைய மண்பொருள்கள் யாவும் சரிநிகர் என்று சட்டம் செய்ய வேண்டும் என்று வலியுறுத்துவர் பாவேந்தர் :

> **"பொருளிலார் இழிந்தோர் என்று புகலும்**
> **இருளுளம் படைத்தோர் இருக்கின்றாரே!**
> **அயர்ந்தார் அயர அகப்பட்டது சுருட்டப்**
> **பயின்றார்! கையிற்பட்ட பழிப்பொருள்**
> **இழிஞன்என் றொருவனை இயம்புமாயின்**
> **அழிபொருள் இன்றே அழிதல் வேண்டும்**
> **அழிபடத்தக்க வழிதான் என்னெனில்**
> **உண்ண உடுக்க உறைய நுகரஆம்**
> **மண்பொருள் சரிநிகர் மக்கட் பொதுவெனச்**
> **சட்டம் செய்வதாம்..."[15]**

5.3 நிலச்சீர்திருத்தம்

மண்பொருள் தமதாக்கிக் கொண்ட பெருநிலக் கிழாரிடமிருந்து நிலங்களைப் பறித்து, நிலமற்ற ஏழைகளுக்கு நிலங்களை வழங்க தமிழக அரசு சட்டம் இயற்றியது. இச்செயலைத் தமிழக ஏடுகள் எதிர்த்தன. அரசினரின் நிலச்சீர் திருத்தத் திட்டத்தினை ஆதரித்த பாவேந்தர், தமிழக இதழ்கள் எதிர்க்கும் செயலின் உள்நோக்கத்தினைக் 'குயில்' இதழில் 'கேட்டலும் கிளத்தலும்' எனும் பகுதியில் பின்வருமாறு கண்டிப்பர்:

கேட்டல்	:	**பெருநிலக் கிழாரிடமிருந்து பெரும்பான்மை நிலங்களைப் பிடுங்கி நிலமில்லார்க்கு வழங்குவதோர் அரசினர் திட்டம் பற்றி நாளேடுகள் அனைத்தும் எதிர்ப்பதற்குக் காரணம் என்ன?**
கிளத்தல்	:	**பெரும்பாலும் நாளேடு உடையவர்கள் அனைவரும்**

பெருநிலக் கிழாரும் தன்னல
உணர்ச்சி உடையவர்களும்
தமிழ்நாடு உடையவர் கரு
முத்துவைப் பற்றி உமக்கே
தெரியும். அவர் திட்டத்தை
எப்படி வரவேற்பார்?[16]

6. சொத்து (Wealth)

தொன்மைக்காலத்தில் செல்வம் சேர்ப்பது ஏற்றுக் கொள்ளப்பட்டது. குடும்பப் பொருளாதாரத்தைப் பாதுகாக்கச் செல்வம் பயன்படுத்தப்பட்டது. கௌடில்யர் நல்நோக்கிற்காக மக்கள் சேர்க்கும் செல்வம் நியாயமானது என்று கூறுவர். பின்னாளில் செல்வம் மனிதர்களிடையே ஏற்றத்தாழ்வு உருவாக்குவதை உணர்ந்தனர். பொருளியல் நோக்கு மாறுபட வேண்டியதாயிற்று.

ஆல்பிரட் மார்ஷல் (Alfred Marshall) எனும் பொருளியல் அறிஞர்க்கு முன்பு இருந்த பொருளியல் அறிஞர்கள் செல்வக் கோட்பாட்டிற்கு முதன்மை தந்தனர். ஆனால், மார்ஷல், மனித நலத்திற்கு முதன்மை தந்தார். மனித உழைப்பே நாட்டின் செல்வங்கள் என்றார். பாவேந்தர் தம் படைப்புகளில் பல இடங்களில் 'சொத்து' பற்றிய பொருளியல் நெறிகளை விளக்கியுள்ளார்.

6.1 சொத்து என்பது திருட்டு

பியர் ஜோசப் புரோதன் (Pierre Joseph Proudhon) என்ற பிரான்சு நாட்டு பொருளியல் அறிஞர், சொத்து என்பது என்ன? (What is Property) வறியவர்களின் தத்துவம் (The Philosophy of Misery) ஆகிய நூல்களின் வழி, சொத்து என்பதற்கு விளக்கம் அளித்தார். கனவுதான் சொத்து என்றார்; சொத்துடையோர் திருடர்கள் என்றார். மேலும், உழைப்பவர்களே சொத்து உடையவர்கள் என்றார் புரோதன். பிரெஞ்சிந்திய மண்ணில் தோன்றிய பாவேந்தரும்,

"பொருளாளி திருடர்களை விளைவிக் கின்றான்
பொதுவுடைமை யோன்திருட்டைக்
களைவிக்கின்றான்"[17]

"அதிகரித்த தொகைதொகையாய்ச்
செல்வமெலாம்

> அடுக்கடுக்காய்ச் சிலரிடம் போய் ஏறிக்கொண்டு
> சதிராடு தேவடியாள் போல் ஆடிற்று.
> தரித்திரரோ புழுப்போலே துடிக்கின்றார்."[18]

என்று கூறுவர்.

6.2 அறவழியில் செல்வம் திரட்டுக

செல்வம் நேர்வழியில் - அறவழியில் - உழைத்த உழைப்பில் தோன்றிய செல்வமாக விளங்க வேண்டும் எனக் கருதும் பாவேந்தர், 'குடும்ப விளக்கு'க் காவியத்தில்

> "அறவழி யாலே நிறைபொருள் ஆக்கினேன்"[19]

என்று எடுத்துக் கூறுவர்.

6.3 செல்வ வளத்திற்கு நல்வினை – தீவினை காரணம் அன்று

ஒருவர் தம் வாழ்நாளில் முயன்று சேர்க்கும் செல்வத்திற்கு நல்வினையோ தீயவினையோ காரணம் இல்லை. மக்கள், நாட்டு மன்னன் அதிகாரத்தை எதிர்க்காமல் இருக்க வேண்டும் என்பதற்காகவே செல்வம் அடைந்ததற்குக் காரணம் முற்பிறப்பில் செய்த நல்வினைப் பயன் என்றும், வறுமை அடைந்ததற்கு முற்பிறப்பில் செய்த தீய வினைப்பயன் என்றும் நாட்டு மக்களிடையே பரப்பினர் மன்னர்கள்.

> "செல்வமுற் பிறப்பில் செய்தநற் வினைப்பயன்
> சிறுமை முற்பிறப்பில் செய்ததீ வினைப்பயன்
> இக்கருத்து நாட்டில் எங்கும் பரவினால்
> மக்கள் எதிர்ப்பாரோ மன்னர் ஆட்சியை"[20]

என்று வினவுவர் பாவேந்தர். நல்வினை - தீவினை எனும் நச்சுக்கருத்து நாட்டு மன்னர்களால் விதைக்கப் பெற்றது என்று கருதுவர்.

6.4 சொத்துத் திருட்டைத் திருத்துவது பகுத்தறிவே!

உழைப்பின்றி பிறர் சொத்தைக் களவு செய்பவர்களால், சுருட்டுபவர்களால் நாட்டின் விடுதலை கெடும். மேலும், பிறர் செல்வத்தைத் தம் சொத்து என்று கூறும் பேராசைக்காரர்களைத் திருத்துவது 'பகுத்தறிவு' தான் என்று எடுத்துரைப்பர் 'பாவேந்தர்.

“சுருட்டுகின்றார் தம்கையில் கிடைத்த வற்றைச்
சொத்தெல்லாம் தமக்கென்று சொல்வார் தம்மை
வெருட்டுவது பகுத்தறிவே! இல்லை யாயின்
விடுதலையும் கெடுதலையும் ஒன்றே யாகும்”[21]

6.5 மடத்தின் சொத்து மக்களின் சொத்து

மடாதிபதிகள் மதத்தின் பெயரால் - சைவ மதத்தின் பெயரால் மக்களின் செல்வத்தை - முறையற்ற முறையில் சுரண்டுகின்றனர்; மக்களின் உழைப்பே மடத்தின் சொத்து ஆகும். மடத்தின் சொத்தால் மக்களுக்குப் பயன் இல்லை எனும் கருத்தினை மடாதிபதியின் கனவில் இறைவன் தோன்றிக் கூறுவதாகப் பின்வருமாறு குறிப்பிடுவர் :

“இத்தனை நாளாகப் – புவியில்
எனது சைவமதை
நித்த நித்த முயன்றே – புவியில்
நீளப்பரப்பி விட்டாய்!

மடத்தின் ஆஸ்தியெல்லாம் – பொதுவில்
மக்களுக் காக்கி விட்டேன்
திடத்தில் மிக்கவனே – இனிநீ
சிவபுரி வாழ்க்கை
நடத்துக...”[22]

6.6 எல்லார்க்கும் நல்லின்பம்

செல்வங்கள் யாவும் எல்லோர்க்கும் நல்லின்பம் தருவனவாக விளங்குதல் வேண்டும்; சமூகத்தில் கட்டுகள் - தளைகள் நீங்கி, மனித வாழ்வில் பேரின்பம் எல்லார்க்கும் விளைதலே பொருளியலின் உயர்நோக்காகக் கருதுவர் பாவேந்தர்.[23]

‘உலகம் உண்ண உண்! உடுத்த உடுப்பாய்!
புகல்வேன் உடைமை மக்களுக்குப் பொது
புவியை நடத்துப் பொதுவில் நடத்து”[24]

என்று ஆளுவோர்க்குப் பொருளியல் கோட்பாட்டினைச் சுட்டிக்காட்டி, ஆளுவோரின் கடமையை எடுத்துக்காட்டுவர்.

6.7 சட்டமே செல்வத்தைச் சமநிலைப்படுத்தும்

ஒரு நாட்டின் செல்வமும், அச்செல்வத்தை நுகர்வதற்குரிய உரிமையும் அந்நாட்டு மக்களுக்கு இருக்கவேண்டும். இந்தப் பொருளியல் நெறியே நாட்டிற்கும் நாட்டு மக்களுக்கும் நலஞ்செயும்; வளம் சேர்க்கும்; நலிவுநீக்கும். எனவே, அந்நாட்டரசு தயக்கமின்றி சட்டம் செய்தாகவேண்டும் என்பர் பாவேந்தர்.

> **"செல்வமெலாம் உரிமையெலாம் நாட்டாருக்கே**
> **நனையின்றி எய்தற்குச் சட்டம் செய்தார்!**
> **நலிவில்லை நலமெலாம் வாய்ந்த தங்கே!"[25]**

6.8 தனியுடைமை

பண்டைப் பொருளியல் அறிஞர் தனியுடைமைப் பொருளாதாரத்தை ஆதரித்தனர். தனிமனிதனுக்குச் செல்வத்தைச் சேர்க்கவும், அதனை விற்கவும், மாற்றவும் உரிமை வழங்கப் பட்டிருந்தது. தனியுடைமைப் பொருளியல் கோட்பாட்டினைப் பாவேந்தர் எதிர்ப்பர் :

> **"ஒரு பொருள்தனி எனும் மனிதரைச்**
> **சிரிப்போம்"[26]**

என்றார். தனி மனிதத் தத்துவம் இருள் என்றார்.[27] மேலும், பொருள்களை - செல்வத்தைத் தனியுடைமை உடையது என்று கூறும் மனிதரை நகைத்து ஒதுக்க வேண்டும்; அவ்வாறு செய்வதால் சமூகத்தில் கொடுமைகள் அகலும் என்பதை,

> **"இதுஎன தென்னுமோர் கொடுமையைத்**
> **தவிர்ப்போம்"[28]**

என்று சுட்டுகிறார்.

6.9 பொதுவுடைமைச் சமுதாயம் (Socialistic Society)

முதலாளித்துவத்தின் விளைவாக, மக்களிடையே செல்வம் பெருகியது; ஆனால், வறுமையும் வளர்ந்தது. தனி மனிதரிடையே செல்வம் குவிந்தது. செல்வந்தர் ஏழையர் எனும் ஏற்றத்தாழ்வு மிகுதியாயிற்று. முதலாளி - தொழிலாளி எனும் வர்க்க உணர்வு உருவாயிற்று. தனியார் சொத்துரிமையை எதிர்த்துக் குரல் கொடுக்க ஆரம்பித்தனர். அரசியல் தலைவர்களும், அரசுகளும் ஏழை மக்களுக்கு உறுதுணையாக வாதிட்டனர். பொதுவுடைமைச் சமுதாயத்தைக் காண விரும்பினர்.

செயின்ட் சைமன் (St. Simon), சார்லஸ் ஃபூரியர் (Charles Fourier), கிராபர் ஓவன், சிஸ்மாண்டி, பியர் ஜோசப் புரோதன் (Pierre Joseph Proudhen) போன்றோர் பிரஞ்சு மண்ணில் தோன்றிய பொருளியல் அறிஞர். இவர்கள் சமதர்மத்தின் தேவையை நாட்டு மக்களுக்கு உணர்த்தினர். பிரெஞ்சுப் புரட்சிக்குக் காரணமானவர்கள். பிரெஞ்சு நாட்டின் ஆட்சிக்கு அதிகாரத்திற்குட்பட்ட பிரெஞ்சிந்தியாவில் தோன்றிய பாவேந்தரிடம் இயல்பாகப் பொதுவுடைமைச் சிந்தனைகள் இடம்பெற்றிருந்தன.

"இதுஅறி வெனத் தெரிந்த நாள்முதல்
புதுவையில்
சுதந்திரம் சமத்துவம் சகோதரத்துவம்
மூன்றும் என்னுயிர் உணர்வில் ஊறியவை"[29]

என்று பாவேந்தர் தம் சமத்துவக் கொள்கையை எடுத்துக் காட்டுவது குறிப்பிடத்தகுந்ததாகும்.

6.10 காரல் மார்க்ஸின் (Karl Marx) பொதுவுடைமைக் கொள்கையை ஏற்றல்

உலகை மாற்றியமைக்க வேண்டுமென்ற உறுதியான நோக்கத்தோடு ஆழ்ந்த அறிவாற்றலினால் ஒரு தத்துவத்தை உருவாக்கி உலகிற்கு வழங்கி, அழியாப்புகழ் கொண்டவர் காரல் ஹென்றிச் மார்க்ஸ் (Karl Henrich Marx) மார்க்ஸ், பொருளியல் சிந்தனைகளை உள்ளடக்கிய பல நூல்களை வெளியிட்டார். குறிப்பாகச் சுட்டத்தக்கது, மூலதனம் (Capital) எனும் நூலாகும். மூன்று பகுதிகளைக் கொண்ட மூலதன நூல் பின்வரும் கருத்துக்களை எடுத்துக்கூறுகிறது.

1. நடுத்தர வகுப்பினருக்கும் உழைப்பாளர்களுக்கும்,
2. உழைப்பாளர்களுக்கும் பொதுவுடைமை வாதிகளுக்கும்,
3. சமதர்மமும் பொதுவுடமையும்.

பாவேந்தரும் தம் இலக்கியப் படைப்புகளில் மார்க்கியத்தின் பொதுவுடைமைக் கருத்துக்களை- பொதுவுடைமைத் திட்டத்தை - பொய்யான சமதர்மவாதிகளைச் சாடுதலையும் எடுத்துக்காட்டுவர்; மேலும் காரல் மார்க்ஸ் உலகத் தொழிலாளர்களே ஒன்று படுங்கள் என்றது போலவே பாவேந்தரும், உலகத் தொழிலாளர்கள் ஒன்றுபட வேண்டும் என்றார். மேலும்,

- வகுப்புவாதச் சிந்தனைகள்,
- உழைப்பாளிகளின் உயர்வு,
- முதலாளி - தொழிலாளிகளிடையே நிலவும் வர்க்கப் போராட்டம்,
- தொழிற் சங்கங்களின் தேவை.

போன்ற கார்ல் மார்க்ஸின் பொருளியல் சிந்தனைகள் பல பாவேந்தரிடம் பெரும் அளவில் இருப்பதைக் காணலாம். வகுப்புவாதத்தை எதிர்த்துக் குரல் கொடுத்தார்; உழைப்பாளியின் உயர்வுக்குப் பாடினார்; முதலாளி - தொழிலாளிகளிடையே நிலவும் வர்க்கப் போராட்டத்தை எடுத்துரைத்தார்; தொழிலாளர் களின் ஒற்றுமையை - தொழிற் சங்கங்களின் தேவையை உலகுக்கு உணர்த்தினார் பாவேந்தர்.

6.11 நலந்தரும் சமத்துவம்

சமத்துவக் கொள்கையால் - பொதுவுடைமைச் சிந்தனையால் நாடும் உயர்வடையும்; உலகமும் உயர்வடையும்; சுதந்திர உணர்வும் பெற முடியும் என்பர் பாவேந்தர்.

"உலகமே உயர்வடை வாய்!
உள்ளவர்க்கெல்லாம் நீயே தாய்!
நலந்தரும் சமத்துவம்!
நாடுதல் மகத்துவம்!
நன்னுவாய் சுதந்தரத்வம்"[30]

6.12 உடைமை பொது

நாட்டின் செல்வம் தனியுடைமையாக இருப்பதால் யாதொரு பயனுமில்லை. ஏழை - முதலாளி எனும் நிலை மாறாது; தனி மனிதனின் ஏழ்மை அகலாது. எனவேதான், பாவேந்தர் புதுக் கணக்குப் போட்டுவிடு என்றார்; பொருளை எல்லாம் பொதுவாக எல்லார்க்கும் குத்தகை செய் என்றார்; ஏழை, முதலாளி என்பது இல்லாமற் செய் என்றார்.

"இலையே உணவிலையே கதியிலையே
எனும் எளிமை இனிமே லிலை"[31]

"இல்லை என்பதே இராதினி"[32]

"உடைமை பொதுவாய்ச் செய்வோம்"[33]

"அழுதிட ஒருவன் மற்றொருவனை மேய்க்கும்
அதருமம் அனைத்தும் மாய்ப்போம்

முழுதுலகப் பயன் உலகினர் சமம் பெற
அன்பினில் மனிதரைத் தோய்ப்போம்"[34]

என்றார்.

6.13 பொது நலமே இன்பம்

உலக மக்களிடையே பொருளாதாரச் சமநிலை என்று ஏற்படுகின்றதோ அன்றுதான் மக்களிடம் தூய உள்ளம் - அன்புள்ளம் தோன்றும். அதனால் மக்களெல்லாம் ஒன்றே என்ற உணர்வு உண்டாகும், என்று தன்னலம் மக்களிடமிருந்து விடுபட வேண்டும் என்பர் பாவேந்தர்.

"தூய உள்ளம் அன்புள்ளம் பெரிய உள்ளம்
தொல்லுலக மக்களெல்லாம் 'ஒன்றே' என்னும்
தாயுள்ளம் தனிலன்றோ இன்பம்! ஆங்கே
சண்டையில்லை தன்னலந்தான் தீர்ந்ததாலே"[35]

6.14 மதிவந்துவிட்டது சர்க்கார்க்கு

ஏழ்மையில் வாடும் ஏழை நோயாளி தம் பெண்டு பிள்ளைக்ளை ஏழ்மையில் வாட விட்டுவிட்டு, இறந்து விடுவோமோ என்ற அச்ச நிலையில் 'புவிப் பொருள்கள் பொது வென்று' தேற்றுமொழிக் கேட்ட அளவிலே எழுந்து அமர்ந்தான்; இனி சாவத்திற்கு அஞ்சவில்லை என்றான்; சாவு கற்கண்டே என்றான்.

"மதிவந்து விட்டதண்ணே நமதுசர்க் காருக்கு!
மக்களுக்குப் புவிப்பொருள்கள் பொது வென்று
சர்க்கார்
பதிந்து விட்டார். இனிப்பெண்டு
பிள்ளைகளைப் பற்றிப்
பயமில்லை! கவலையில்லை! மெய்யண்ணே,
மெய்மெய்!"[36]

என்று 'மாண்டவன் மீண்டான்' எனும் கவிதையில் பொதுமைக் கோட்பாட்டினை வலியுறுத்துவர் பாவேந்தர்.

6.15 புரட்சியே பொதுவுடைமையை நல்கும்

பிரெஞ்சு நாட்டில் பொருளாதாரம் பின்னிலை அடைந்த போது புரட்சி ஏற்பட்டது. புரட்சியே பிரெஞ்சு நாட்டில் புதுப்பொலிவு அளித்தது. புதுப்பொருளியல் சிந்தனையை

உலகுக்குத் தந்தது. பாவேந்தர், புரட்சியே மக்களுக்குப் பொருளியல் சமன்நிலை ஏற்படுத்தும் என்று கருதுவர்.

> "புதுக்கணக்குப் போட்டுவிடு! பொருளை
> யெல்லாம்
> பொதுவாக எல்லார்க்கும் குத்தகைசெய்
> ஏழைமுத லாளியென்ப தில்லாமற்செய்"[37]

> "ஓடப்ப ராயிருக்கும் ஏழையப்பர்
> உதையப்பராகிவிட்டால், ஓர்நொடிக்குள்
> ஓடப்பர் உயரப்பர் எல்லாம் மாறி
> ஒப்பப்பர் ஆய்விடுவார் உணரப்பாநீ"[38]

என்று பொதுவுடைமைச் சமுதாயம் நாட்டில் மலர, பாவேந்தர் புரட்சி விதைகளை ஊன்றுவர்.

6.16 எல்லார்க்கும் எல்லாம்

எல்லார்க்கும் எல்லாம் இருப்பதால் உலகில் ஏழ்மை இல்லை; பிறர் நலத்தைச் சுரண்டும் தனி மனிதன் இல்லை. தனி மனிதக் கொடுமையில்லை என்று 'பாண்டியன் பரிசில்' பொதுவுடைமை நாட்டத்தை எடுத்துக்காட்டுவர் பாவேந்தர் :

> "எல்லார்க்கும் எல்லாம்என் றிருப்ப தான
> இடம்நோக்கி நடக்கின்ற திந்த வையம்
> ....
> ....
> இல்லாரும் அங்கில்லை; பிறன்நலத்தை
> எனதென்று தனியொருவன், சொல்லான் அங்கே
> நல்லாரே எல்லாரும் அவ்வை யத்தில்"[39]

> "எல்லார்க்கும் தேசம் எல்லார்க்கும் உடைமை
> எலாம்
> எல்லார்க்கும் எல்லா உரிமைகளும் ஆகுக"[40]

6.17 பொதுநலம் காக்கப் புறப்படு

மக்களுக்கு நலம் செய்ய உருவானதே ஆட்சி முறை. மக்கள் உயிர்வாழ இன்றிமையா அரிசி உள்ளிட்ட உணவுப் பொருள்கள் கிடைக்க ஆட்சியாளர்கள் உறுதி செய்ய வேண்டும். அவ்வாறு செய்யாத 'ஆட்சியை மக்கள் தூக்கி எறிய வேங்கை எனப் புறப்பட வேண்டும்' எனப் பாவேந்தர் 'குயில் கிழமை' இதழ்த் தலையங்கத்தில் குறிப்பிடுவர் :

"வணிகர்களை எழுப்பு! உன் வாழாத
மக்களை வாழத்தூண்டு. அஞ்சும்
அலுவல்காரருக்கு உணர்ச்சியை ஊட்டு!...

பணம் பணம் என்று மகிழ்ச்சியில்
தூங்குகின்றவர்கள் நாளைக்குப்
பிணம் பிணம் என்று அழவேண்டிய
நிலை வரும் என்று எச்சரிக்கை செய்!
ஏழை மக்களை எழுப்பு!"[41]

6.18 புதியதோர் உலகம் செய்வோம்

முதலாளித்துவக் கொள்கை இந்நாட்டிற்குத் தீங்கினை விளைவிக்கும் என்று உணர்ந்த பாவேந்தர், பொதுவுடைமைச் சிந்தனையே போரிடும் உலகுக்கு ஏற்றது என்றார். பழைய சித்தாந்தங்கள்-தொன்மை பொருளியல் சிந்தனைகள் மக்களுக்குப் பயன் தரவில்லை எனில் அதனை மாற்றி, புதிய உலகினைப் படைக்கவேண்டும் என்று 'புதிய உலகு செய்வோம்' எனும் கவிதை வழியில் பொதுவுடைமைக் கொள்கையின் தேவையை வலியுறுத்துவர்.

"புதியதோர் உலகம் செய்வோம் – கெட்ட
போரிடும் உலகத்தை வேரொடு சாய்ப்போம்.
பொதுவுடைமைக் கொள்கை திசையெட்டும்
சேர்ப்போம்.
புனிதமாமதை எங்கள் உயிரென்று காப்போம்.
இதயமெலாம் அன்பு நதியில் நனைப்போம்.
'இதுஎன தெ'ன்னுமோர் கொடுமையைத்
தவிர்ப்போம்.
உணர்வெனும் கனலிடை அயர்வினை
எரிப்போம்.
'ஒருபொருள்தனி' எனும் மனிதரைச் சிரிப்போம்.
இயல்பொருள் பயன்தர மறுத்திடில் பசிப்போம்.
ஈவதுண்டாம் எனில் அனைவரும் புசிப்போம்.

மேலும், செல்வநிலை, அனைவர்க்கும் பொதுவெனும் அறிவே இன்றி வாழும் மனிதரைக் கண்டிப்பர் பாவேந்தர்.[43]

6.19 புவி மக்களில் உயர்வு தாழ்வு இல்லை

சாதி, சமயம் மக்களிடையே பேதத்தை உருவாக்கியது; சாதிசமயப் போர்கள் மக்களின் பொருளியலைச் சிதைத்தன.

பொருளியல் சிந்தனையாளர்கள் பலர் தோன்றி ஏற்றத்தாழ்வு அற்ற உலகினைக் காண விரும்பினர்; இயேசு, புத்தர் போன்றார் மக்களிடையே சமநிலை தோன்றிட உழைத்தனர். ஏசுநாதர் போதித்த சமத்துவச் சிந்தனையை, ஏசுவின் தொண்டர்கள் காற்றில் பறக்கவிட்டனர்; ஏற்றத்தாழ்வுகளை மக்களிடையே உருவாக்கினர் என்று 'சேசுபொழிந்த தெள்ளமுது' எனும் கவிதையில் பின்வருமாறு குறிப்பிடுவர் :

"வல்லவர் சேசு வகுத்ததுதான் என்ன? தோழி – புவி
மக்கள் எல்லாம் சமம்' என்று முழுங்கினர் தோழா.
ஈண்டுள்ள தொண்டர்கள் என்ன செய்கின்றனர் தோழி
– அவர்

ஏழைகள் தாழ்வுறச் செல்வரை வாழ்த்தினர் தோழா."[44]

"உலக மக்கள் நிகர்என்ப தெங்கள் நாகரிகம்"[45]

"எவரும் நிகர்"[46]
"வாழ்வதிலும் நலம் சூழ்வதிலும் புவி
மக்களெல்லாம் ஒப்புடையார்"[47]

7. நலப்பொருளியல் (Welfare Economics)

தொன்மைப் பொருளியலறிஞர்கள் நாட்டில் உற்பத்தியையும் செல்வத்தையும் முதன்மையாகக் கருதினர். பிற்காலத்தில், நலப்பொருளறிஞர்கள் நலத்தை முதன்மையாகக் கொண்டனர். நுகர்வு, பயன்பாடு, தேவை ஆகிய இவைகளைப் பொருளாதாரத்தில் முதன்மைக் கூறுகளாக விளக்கினர். ஆல்பிரட் மார்ஷல் நலப்பொருளியல் சிந்தனையை வழங்கிய பெருமைக்குரியவர். ஹென்றி கிளே ஹாத்ரே, எட்ஜ்வொர்த், ஹாப்சன், பிகு பேரட்டோ போன்றோர் நலப்பொருளியலை விளக்கினர்.

நலம் என்பது ஒரு மனிதனின் நலம் பற்றியதாகும். ஒருவன் பெறுகின்ற மனநிறைவின் அளவை ஒட்டி அமைவதாகும். நலப்பொருளியலின் கோட்பாடு, வேலையின் தன்மை, சூழல், மனிதத் தொடர்பு, சமுதாய மதிப்பு, குடியிருக்கும் நிலை, பொதுப் பாதுகாப்பு ஆகிய இவைகள் நலக்கோட்பாட்டின் அடிப்படைக் கூறுகளாகும்.

நலப்பொருளியல் செல்வந்தர்களின் செல்வம் ஏழைகளின் செல்வமாக மாறும்போதுதான் செம்மைபெறுகிறது என்று கூறலாம். ஆல்பிரட் மார்ஷல் 'நாட்டு வருவாய் பொது

நலனைக் குறிக்கும் வகையில் இருக்க வேண்டும்' என்பர். பிகு, 'நாட்டு வருவாயின் அளவை மட்டுமல்ல, பகிர்வின் சமத்துவத்தையும் சார்ந்து அமைகின்றன' என்று நலப்பொருளியல் பற்றிக் குறிப்பிடுவர்.

மார்ஷல், பிகு போன்ற நலப்பொருளியல் வல்லுனர்களின் சிந்தனைகள் போன்றே பாவேந்தர் இலக்கியங்களில் நலப்பொருளியல் பற்றிய கருத்துக்கள் - சிந்தனைகள் பரவலாக இடம் பெற்றிருப்பதைக் காணலாம்.

7.1 மானுடம் போற்று

மனிதனை மனிதனாகக் கருதுவதே நலப்பொருளியலின் அடிப்படைக் கூறு ஆகும். நலப்பொருளியலுக்கு எதிர்த்தன்மை உடையது முதலாளித்துவப் பொருளியல். நாட்டின் செல்வம் சமப் பகிர்வு செய்தால் மட்டுமே நலப் பொருளியல் கோட்பாடு பயன் தரும். மனிதன் மானிடம் போற்றவேண்டும்; அவ்வாறு போற்றாத மானிடனை அவன்தன் உயிர்கூட வெறுக்கும் என்பர் பாவேந்தர்.

"மானிடம் போற்ற மறுக்கும் – ஒரு
மானிடம் தன்னைத்தன் உயிரும் வெறுக்கும்
மானிடம் என்பது குன்று – தனில்
வேய்ந்த சமத்துவ உச்சியில் நின்று
மானிடருக் கினி தாக...."[48]

நாட்டு மக்கள் யாவரும் நலம்பெற வேண்டும்; வறுமை, வாட்டம் அகல வேண்டும் என்று விரும்புவர் பாவேந்தர் :

"க்ஷேமம் எல்லார்க்கும்' என்றே சொல்லிப்
பேரிகை
செகம் முழக்கிடுவாய்..."[49]

7.2 குடும்ப நலனும் நாட்டு நலனும்

'ஒரு குடும்பத்தின் பசித்தீயைத் தீர்ப்பது அந்தக் குடும்பத்தலைவனின் கடமை; இதனைப் போன்றே, நாட்டு மக்களின் பசித்தீயைக் களைவது அந்நாட்டரசின் கடமை' என்று பாவேந்தர் பின்வருமாறு குடும்ப நலம் - நாட்டு நலம் பற்றிய கருத்துரை வழங்குவர் :

"குடும்பத் தலைவன் தன் குடும்பத்தார்க்
கேற்பட்ட பசித்தீத் தணிய இரண்டு

மாகாணி அரிசி கொடுத்தான்.
இந்த நிலையில் அவன் குடும்ப
நலனைக் கோரியவன் என்றால்
பொருந்தும். அவ்வாறின்றி அக்குடும்பத்
தலைவன் தொடர்ந்து ஆயிரமுட்டை
அரிசியை நாட்டார் அனைவர்க்கும்
அளந்து கொண்டே போனானாயின்
அவன் குடும்ப நலனை மட்டும்
கருதினான் என்பது பொருந்தாது
அன்றோ! அவன் நாட்டின் நலனைக்
காத்தவன் ஆனான் அன்றோ!"[50]

7.3 மருத்துவ நலம்

மருத்துவத்துறை, பண வருவாயை ஈட்டித் தரும் துறை அன்று. ஆனால், நலம் என்ற மூலதனத்தை அளிக்க வல்லது. நலம் பயக்கும் மருத்துவமனைகள் பணமின்றி - ஏழ்மை நிறைந்த மக்களின் உயிரைக் காக்கும் மருந்துமில்லை. நோயின் தன்மையைக் கண்டறிய நன்றான கருவியுமில்லை' என வருந்தும் பாவேந்தர், போதிய பணம் வழங்குதல் வேண்டும் என்பர் :

"எழில்மருத் துவத்து றைக்கே
ஒன்று பல்லா யிரம்பொன்
உடன்தேவை! மருந்து மில்லை
நன்றான கருவி இல்லை"[51]

என்று 'குறிஞ்சித் திட்டு'க் காவியத்தில் வலியுறுத்திக் கூறுவர் பாவேந்தர்.

7.4 அவன் செயல் அன்று

ஒருவன் செல்வம் அடைதலும், ஒருவன் வறுமை அடைதலும் இறைவன் செயல் என்று உரைப்பின், ஏன் ஏழை தன் வறுமையைப் போக்கப் பிச்சை எடுக்க வேண்டும்? என்று வினா தொடுப்பர் பாவேந்தர். அவனவன் அறிவுத்திறனே அவனவன் அடையும் செல்வத்திற்கும், வறுமைக்கும் காரணம் என்று பின்வரும் பாடல் வரியின் மூலம் புலப்படுத்துவர் பாவேந்தர் :

"அவன்செய லாலவன் செல்வம் அடைந்தான்
எவன்செயலால் ஏந்துகின்றான் கை"[52]

7.5 நலத்தைப் பாதிப்பது பொருளாசையே

> **"ஆசை அறுமின்கள், ஆசை அறுமின்கள்**
> **ஈசனோடு ஆயினும் ஆசை அறுமின்கள்"**

என்பது பழம் பாடல். ஆசையானது உடல் நலத்தை - மன நலத்தை அழிக்கும். ஆசை தனியுடைமைத் தத்துவத்தை வளர்க்கச் செய்யும். எனவே, செல்வத்தின் மீது ஆசை கொள்ளாது இருத்தலே மனத்தின் சிறப்பு என்பர் பாவேந்தர் :

> **"எந்நற் பொருள்கட்கும் எங்கா தொருவயின்**
> **மன்னலே ஆகும் மனம்."[53]**

7.6 ஏழைகளின் செல்வமே கோயில்கள்

ஏழைகளின் நிலம், பொன், பொருள், பணம், உழைப்பு முதலியன தம் வாட்டத்தை - வறுமையைப் போக்கிக் கொள்வதற்குப் பதிலாக கோயில் கட்டுவதற்குப் பயன் படுத்துவதும் ஒருவகையில் நலப்பொருளியல் கோட்பாட்டிற்கு மாறுபட்டதுதான். அரசே, ஏழைகளுக்காகத்தான் கோயில் கட்டப்படுகிறது என்று கூறுவதன் மூலம் அரசின் வருவாயும், மனித உழைப்பும் வீணடிக்கப்படுகிறது. வரியாகப் பெறப்படும் ஏழைகளின் பணமே அவர்களின் நலத்திற்குப் பயன்படாமல், கோயில் கட்டுவதும் ஒருவகையான சுரண்டலே என்று 'குயில் கிழமை' இதழில் 'கேட்டலும் கிளைத்தலும்' என்னும் பகுதியில் குறிப்பிடுவர் பாவேந்தர் :

கேள்வி : **கோயில் கட்டுவது ஏழைகளின் நன்மைக்காகத்தான் என்று பக்தவச்சலம் பகருகின்றார். சரிதானா அது?**

பதில் : **நூற்றுக்கு நூறு சரி! பணக்காரரைச் சுரண்டக் கட்சிகள் ஏற்பட்டுவிட்டன. இப்போது கோயில்கள் ஏழைகளின் தாலியைத் தாமே ஒட்ட ஒட்ட அறுத்து வருகின்றன."[54]**

7.7 பொதுநலம் இன்மை

நாட்டின் செல்வம் ஏழ்மையை ஒழித்து இன்றியமையாத் தேவைகளை நிறைவு செய்வதாக இருத்தல் வேண்டும். பொதுநலம் நாடியே பொருளாதாரம் அமைந்து இருக்க வேண்டும். பொதுநலத்தில் நாட்டமின்றி நாட்டின் பலகோடி

வருமானம், திங்களுக்குச் செயற்கைக்கோள் அனுப்புவதால் பொதுநலம் பாழ்படும் என்று 'குயில்' கிழமை இதழ்த் தலையங்கத்தில் பின்வருமாறு கண்டிப்பர் :

"திங்கள் மண்டலநோக்கி நாயை
அனுப்பும் கருவிசெய்ய ஐம்பது
கோடி செலவாயிற்றாம். அந்த நாட்டில்
உள்ளவர்களும் அறிவாளிகளா?
அன்புடையவர்களா?

கதிரவனை அடையப் போகின்றதாம்
இன்னொரு நாட்டின் கருவி. அதற்குப்
பலகோடி செலவாம். கேடுகால
எண்ணந்தவிர வேறென்ன இதுவெல்லாம்?
பெரும்பொருளை இவ்வாறு பாழாக்கி
விளையாடும் ஒருநாடு பொதுநலம்
என்பது இன்னது என்று தெரிந்து
கொண்டது என்றுகூட எண்ணமுடியவில்லை."[55]

7.8 சுற்றுப்புற நலத்தூய்மை

சுற்றுப்புறச் சூழல் கெடுவதால் நாட்டு மக்களின் நலம் பாதிப்புக்குள்ளாகிறது. சுற்றுப்புறச் சூழல் கெடாது இருக்கச் சாலைகள் நன்கு அமைக்க வேண்டும்; சேறும் மண்ணும் நிறைந்த சாலைகள் சுத்தப்படுத்தப்பட வேண்டும் எனப் பாவேந்தர் 'குறிஞ்சித்திட்டு' காவியத்தில் பல நலச்சிந்தனைகள் வழங்குவர்:

"தெருவெலாம் சேறும் மண்ணும்
தெருச்சாலை தரையுள் மட்டம்"

8. ஏழ்மைப் பொருளியல் (Economics of Poverty)

ஆடம் ஸ்மித் (Adam Smith) 'நாடுகளின் செல்வம்' என்ற நூல் எழுதியது போலவே, கன்னார் மிர்டில் எனும் பொருளியலறிஞர் 'நாடுகளின் ஏழ்மை' எனும் நூலினை வழங்கினார். நாட்டில் பல செல்வ வளங்கள் இருந்தும், இன்னும் பல நாடுகள் ஏழ்மையில் உழன்று வருவதைக் காணலாம். நாட்டின் பொருளியல் உயர்வு பெற அந்நாட்டின் மக்களிடம் காணப்படும் அறிவு - அறியாமையே காரணமாகும் என்று கூறுவர் பாவேந்தர். மேலும், ஏழ்மை என்ற வறுமை, நாட்டில் எப்போதும் இருந்துகொண்டுதான் இருக்கும்; அறிவும்

அறியாமையும் - செல்வமும் வறுமையும் தொடர்ந்து இருந்து கொண்டுதான் இருக்கும் என்பர் பாவேந்தர்.

> "ஏழ்மை என்றால் வறுமை!
> வறுமை காரணமாகத்தான் ஒருவன்
> இரக்கும் நிலையை அடைகிறான்.
> அதனால் இரந்து உண்பானையும்,
> ஏழை, வறியவன் என்றே தமிழில்
> கூறுவதுண்டு."[57]

> "இந்த வறுமை, உலகில்
> இருந்துகொண்டுதான் இருக்கும்.
> அடியோடு ஒழிக்க முடியாது என்றும்,
> அந்த வறுமைஉலகில் இருந்துகொண்டு
> இருப்பதும் உலக மக்களின் நடைமுறையில்
> ஒரு சுவையை உண்டாக்கும் என்றும்
> வறியவர் அதாவது இரப்பவர் உலகில்
> இல்லாவிட்டால் வாழ்க்கையில்
> சுவை இராது."[58]

மேலும், அறிவும் அறியாமையும், செல்வமும் - வறுமையும் நாட்டில் நின்று நிலைபெறக் காரணம் அந்நாட்டில் நிலவும் சட்டமே ஆகும்.

எனவேதான், பாவேந்தர் ஏழ்மையைப் பற்றி உறுதியான பொருளாதாரக் கொள்கையாக வெளியிடுவர் :

> "ஏற்றத்தாழ்வு எப்போதும் இருக்கும்.
> அறிவு அறியாமை அகல முடியாதவை.
> வறுமையும் செம்மையும் வாழ்ந்து
> கொண்டுதான் இருக்கும்.
> இரப்பானும் ஈவானும் இரப்பதும்
> ஈவதும் எப்போதும் இருக்கும்.
> இந்த இரண்டில் ஒன்று வேரற்றுப்
> போவதென்பது முடியவேமுடியாது."[59]

மேலும், கல்வியால் - கற்கும் அளவிற்கு அறியாமை - மடமை போகும் என்பர்.

உருசிய நாட்டில் ஏழ்மை இன்றும் இருப்பதற்கு அந்நாட்டில் நிலவும் சட்டமும், கல்வியும், பொருளாதாரச் சீர்குலைவும் போன்றன காரணங்கள் என்று கூறலாம்.

8.1 வறுமையின்மைக்குப் பின் அறிவியல் வளர்ச்சி

வறுமையும் அறிவியலும் நேர்மாறானவை. வறுமையுற்ற போது அறிவியல் வளர்ச்சி தடைபடும். நாட்டின் வறுமையைப் போக்காது, அறிவியல் வளர்ச்சிக்கு - விண்வெளி ஆராய்ச்சிக்கு நாட்டின் செல்வத்தை அதிக அளவில் செலவிடுதல் வீண் என்பர் பாவேந்தர். இதனைச் செயற்கை வட்ட நிலாவும் இயற்கை வட்ட நிலாவும் கலந்து உரையாடுவதன் மூலம் எடுத்துக்காட்டுவர் :

குட்டி நிலா : ***களைப்பு நீங்க உலகம் ஒருவன்***
கைக்குள் வருமோ வட்ட
நிலாவே?

வட்ட நிலா : ***இருப்பு மிகவும் இருக்கும் ஊரில்***
அரிசி உண்டோ குட்டி நிலாவே?

குட்டி நிலா : ***ஆயிரங்கோடிச் செலவில்***
வந்தேன். அறிவைக் கொடுப்பாய்
வட்ட நிலாவே!

வட்ட நிலா : ***ஆயிரங் கோடியை அரிசிக்காக***
அளித்ததுண்டோ குட்டி நிலாவே!
போய்விடு! போய்விடு!
குட்டிநிலாவே!
போய்விடு என்றது வட்ட
நிலாவே!
தீயில் எரிந்தது குட்டி நிலாவே!
தீய்ந்து விழுந்தது குட்டி
நிலாவே![60]

8.2 ஏழையின் ஏக்கம்

இந்நாட்டு ஏழை மக்கள் கந்தையின்றி, உணவு இன்றி வாடும் நிலையைக் கண்ட பாவேந்தர், இந்நாடு பொதுமக்கள் நாடு அன்றோ? என்ற கேள்வியை நாட்டு மக்கள் முன் வைப்பர்

"கந்தையின்றி உணவின்றிப் பொதுவினர்
காலந் தள்ளி வருவது கண்டீரோ!
இந்த நாடு பொதுமக்கள் நாடன்றோ?"[61]

மேலும், ஏழைகளின் ஏழ்மையை எடுத்துக்காட்டி, அதனைப் போக்க அரசின் கடமையை உணர்த்துவர் பாவேந்தர்

"ஏழைப் பணிப்பெண்ணே 'இந்த நகரமன்றம்
ஏழைகளுக் கேதேனும் ஏற்பாடு செய்கிலையோ'
என்று நான்கேட்டவுடன் 'இந்த நகரமன்றம்
ஒன்றுமில்லா என்கட்கா ஒத்தாசை செய்யும்
என்றாள்."[62]

8.3 ஏழைகள் அழும் கண்ணீர் ஈட்டி ஒக்கும்

நாட்டின் பொருளாதாரம் செல்வந்தர்களை மேலும், செல்வந்தர்களாக மாற்றும் வகையில்தான் பொருளியல் சட்டங்கள் இருக்கின்றன. பொருளுடையோருக்கே இயற்றும் சட்டங்கள் துணைப்போகின்றன. இதனைக் கண்டே பாவேந்தர், ஏழைகள் அழும் கண்ணீர் ஈட்டி ஒக்கும் என்றார்:

"கொண்ட பணக்காரர்களின் குறைகேட்டே – அவர்
கொள்கை இன்னும் அடித்திட உழைத்திரோ
எண்டிசையும் தாயகத்தில் ஏழைகளழும் கண்ணீர்
ஈட்டிஒக்கும் என்றமொழி கேட்ட
தில்லையோ?"[63]

8.4 ஏழைகளுக்குத் தாயன்பு காட்டுக

சமுதாயத்தின் ஏழை மக்கள் கூழுக்கு வாடுகின்றனர். ஏழை மக்களின் நலத்தைக் கொள்ளை அடித்து சிலர் இன்பம் காணுகின்றனர். இது சரியோ? இது நீதியோ?[64]

வலியோர் சிலர் எளியோர் தமை வதையே புரிகுவதா?[65]

மக்களெல்லாம் சமமாக அடைந்திட மாநிலம் தந்ததில் வஞ்சமோ? பசிமிக்கவரின் தொகை கொஞ்சமா?[66]

"தாழ்பவர் தன்மைத் தாழ்த்துதல் சால்போ?
தனம் காப்பவர் தம்மைத் தாழ்த்துதல் சால்போ?[67]

என்று ஏழைகளுக்கு இரக்கத்தைக் காட்டும் பாவேந்தர், சமுதாயம் ஏழைகளின் மீது தாயன்பு காட்ட வேண்டும் என்பர்.

"வாயைத் திறக்கவும் சக்தி – இன்றி
வயிற்றைப் பிசைந்திடும் ஏழைகட்டே நீ

தாயன்பு பாவனை யோடும் – உன்
சதையையும் ஈந்திட ஒப்புதல் வேண்டும்"[68]

மேலும், 'நைந்தார்க்கு உதவி செய்'[69] தலே சால்புடையது என்று ஆத்திசூடியிலும் எடுத்துரைப்பர் பாவேந்தர்.

புதுச்சேரியில் அரிசிப் பஞ்சத்தால் ஏழைகள் வாடினர்; ஏழைகளின் பசிப்பிணியைப் போக்குவதில் காரைக்கால் நிலக்கிழார்கள் இரக்கம் காட்ட வேண்டும் என்றும், ஏழைகள் உயிர்வாழ அரிசி தடையின்றி கிடைக்க வழி செய்ய வேண்டும் என்றும் 11-11-58ஆம் 'குயில்' கிழமைத் தலையங்கத்தில் பின்வருமாறு குறிப்பிடுவர் :

"காரைக்கால் நிலக்கிழார்க்கும்
இதில் இரக்கம் இருக்க வேண்டும்.
புதுவையின் பசிப்பிணியைப் போக்குவதில்
அவர்கட்கு அக்கறை இருக்க வேண்டும் என்று
கேட்டுக் கொள்கிறோம்.

நாம் ஆர்லிக்ஸுக்கு அழவில்லை.
ஓவல் டின்னுக்கு ஆவல் கொள்ளவில்லை.
பணக்காரர் சிலருக்கு வேண்டும் அவை.
அதோ இன்னும் 9.8.0 ரூபாய்கே விற்றுக்
கொண்டு இருக்கின்றார்கள். கொள்ளை
யடிக்கட்டும்.
நாம் கவலைப்படவில்லை. நாம் கேட்பதெல்லாம்
புதுவை வட்டாரப் பெரும்பான்மை ஏழை
மக்கட்கு இன்றியமையாது
வேண்டப்படும் அரிசி.

எல்லா பண்டமும் விலையேறிவிட்டது. மக்கள்
துடிக்கிறார்கள்.
அந்தத் துடிப்பை அவர்களால் அடக்க
முடியவில்லை. ஏன்?
அரிசி நயத்தால் வடித்துத் தண்ணீர் ஊற்றி,
உப்பிட்டு உண்டு
உயிர் வாழலாம் என்று அவர்கள்
எண்ணுகிறார்கள்."[70]

8.5 ஏழைக்குதவுதலே தவம்

உலகில் வாழும் அனைவருக்கும் வளம் கிடைப்பதில்லை. வேலை இல்லாத் திண்டாட்டம் ஒருபுறம்; உணவுப் பிரச்சினை, பொருளியல் பற்றாக் குறை மறுபுறம். வாட்டும் பசிப்பிணியைப் போக்க வளம் நிறைந்தவர், ஏழைக்கு உதவி வழங்குபவரே தவம் செய்தவராவார். 'மணிமேகலை வெண்பாவில்' தீவதிலகை எனும் பாத்திரப்படைப்பின் வாயிலாக இதனை எடுத்துக் காட்டுவர் பாவேந்தர்.

> "வேலையில்லை தந்தைக்கு! வெள்ளைநூல்
> அன்னையிடம்
> பாலில்லை பச்சைக் குழந்தைக்கே – தாலிவிற்றால்
> வாங்குவா ரில்லை;அங்குவாட்டும் பசிநீக்கித்
> தாங்குவார் தாம்தவம் செய் வார்"[71]

8.6 ஏழ்மைப் பொருளியலுக்கு ஊழ்க் காரணமன்று

வாழ்வில் ஏற்படும் பொருளாதார ஏற்றத் தாழ்விற்கு - ஏழ்மைக்கு விதியே காரணம் என்பதைப் பாவேந்தர் தம் படைப்புகளில் மறுப்பர். விதி என்பதற்குப் புதிய கண்ணோட் டத்தைத் தருவர் :

> "துறப்பார்மன் துப்புரவில்லார் உறற்பால
> ஊட்டா கழியும் எனின்"[72]

எனும் குறட்பாவிற்கு உரை கூறப்போந்த பாவேந்தர், 'ஊழ்' என்பதற்குப் பொருளியல் நோக்கில் 'சட்டம்' என்றே பொருள் காண்பர்.[73]

> "துய்த்தற்கு வழி யில்லாத ஏழைமக்கள்
> தமக்குச் சேரவேண்டியவற்றைச் சேர்க்காமல்
> செல்லுமானால்
> அந்தச் சட்டத்தை மீறிப் புரட்சி செய்வார்கள்...
> ஒருவனின் உழவுக்குக் கூலி எட்டணா என்பது பழைய
> சட்ட
> மானால் இப்பொழுதுள்ள சூழ்நிலையில் அந்த
> எட்டணா என்பதற்கு
> இரண்டு ரூபாய் என்பது பொருள். எனவே, உழவன்
> இந்நாள் நாளொன்றுக்கு அடையத் தகுந்தது இரண்டு
> ரூபாய்.

உறற்பாலாகிய இந்த இரண்டு ரூபாயைச் சட்டமானது அவர்கள்
அடைய முடியாமல் நடந்துகொண்டு இருக்குமானால் அந்த
உழவர்கள் அந்தச் சட்டத்தைத் துறக்க வேண்டும்! அதாவது
சட்டத்தை உடைக்க வேண்டும். அதாவது
புரட்சி செய்ய வேண்டும்."[74]

மேலும், வாழ்க்கையில் ஒருவன் செம்மைநிலை பெறுவதற்கும், வறுமை நிலை பெறுவதற்கும் ஊழ் காரணமன்று என்று கருதுவர் பாவேந்தர் :

"இவற்றிற்கு 'ஊழ்' என்ற தெய்வம்
காரணம் என்பார்கள் சமயக்கணக்கர். அது புரட்டு.
அரசியல் சட்டம் காரணம். ஊழ் என்றாலே சட்டம்
என்பதே பொருள். ஊரில் பரவலாக விற்கக்கூடிய
சரக்கை எல்லாம் ஒருவன் வாங்கிக் குவித்து வைக்கிறான்;
விலையை ஏற்றி விற்கலாம் என்று; விலை குறைந்து விடுகின்றது.
இழப்பு நேர்ந்து விடுகின்றது. வறுமை நிலையை அடைகிறான்.
இங்கு அறிவுடையவன் வறியவனானான் என்று எண்ணுகின்றார்கள்.
அவன் அந்த நிலையை அடைந்ததற்கு அவன் அறியாமை மட்டும்
காரணம் அன்று. வாணிகம் பற்றிய சட்டமும் அவன் வறுமைக்குக்
காரணம் ஆயிற்று."[75]

9. வேளாண் பொருளியல் (Agricultural Economics)

மக்கள் வாழ்வின் அடித்தளத்திற்கு - உலகின் உயிர்கள் நின்று நிலை பெறுவதற்கு வேளாண்மை முதற்படியாகும். வள்ளுவர் வேளாண்மையின் தேவையை வள்ளுவத்தில் வலியுறுத்துவர் :

"உழுதுண்டு வாழ்வாரே வாழ்வர்மற் றெல்லாந்
தொழுதுண்டு பின்செல் பவர்"[76]

"சுழன்றும் ஏர்ப்பின்ன துலகம்; அதனால்
உழந்தும் உழவே தலை"[77]

என்று வள்ளுவர் உழவின் பெருமையை எடுத்துக்காட்டுவர்.

9.1 மழை வளம்

இந்த உழவின் பெருமை, மழை வளத்தைச் சார்ந்து நிற்பது. மழை யின்றேல் வேளாண்மை இல்லை. மழையின்றேல் உலகம் இல்லை. மழையின் ஏற்றத்தைத் 'திருக்குறள் உரையில்' பின்வருமாறு எடுத்துரைப்பர் பாவேந்தர்.

"மழையே அமிழ்தாயின் ஈண்டு அமிழ்து என்னும் சொல்லாற்
குறிப்பிடுவதில் சிறப்பென்ன வெனில் வெப்பமானது முகக்கும்
நிலையில் அந்நீர் முகில் என்றும், அம்முகில் நீரைக் கொண்டு
நின்ற நிலையில் அந்நீர் கொண்டல் என்றும், அக்கொண்டல்,
மேற்சென்ற நிலையில் அந்நீர் வான் என்றும் அவ்வான்
கருமையுற்ற நிலையில் அந்நீர்கார் என்றும் அக்கார் மழைக்கும்
நிலையில் அந்நீர் மழை என்றும், அம்மழைதான் வாழ்வார்க்கு
அமிழும் உணவாகி அமிழ்ந்து வரும் நிலையில் அமிழ்தென்றும்
அவ்வமிழ்து நிலத்தை மருவும் நிலையில் மாரி என்றும் மற்றும்
பற்பல நிலைகளில் அந்நீர் பற்பல பெயர் பெறினும் அவற்றில்
அமிழ்து என்று கூறப்படும் நிலையே சிறப்பாதல் அறிக..."[78]

இயற்கைதந்த இந்த நீர்வளம் மக்களின் நல்வாழ்விற்குப் பயன்பட வேண்டும். இந்தியத் திருநாட்டில் பல்வேறு நதிகளில் நீர்வளம் மிகுந்து இருக்கக் காண்கிறோம். மிகுந்த நீர்வளம் வீணாகக் கடலில் கலப்பது வேளாண் பொருளியல் வளர்ச்சிக்குத் தடையேயாகும். 'அரசியல் காரணங்களால், கேரள எல்லையைத் தொட்டுக்கொண்டு கடலில் விழும் நீர் தமிழகத்திற்குக் கிடைக்காமற் போகிறது. இது தமிழர்களின் வாழ்விற்கும், பொருளியல் வளர்ச்சிக்கும் தொல்லை' என்று 'குயில்' கிழமைத் தலையங்கத்தில் அரசியல் - ஆட்சியாளர்களைக் கண்டிப்பர் பாவேந்தர் :

"கேரளத்தைத் தொட்டுக்கொண்டு கடலில்
விழும் ஒரே காரணத்தால் அத்தண்ணீர் தமிழ்
நாட்டுக்கு மறிக்கக்கூடாது என்று தில்லி
சொல்கிறது. தமிழ்நாட்டு அமைச்சரும்
இதற்குத் தாளம் போட வேண்டும்? உயிர்த்
தொல்லை இது இல்லையா?"[79]

9.2 பொது சாகுபடி

நிலக்கிழார்களிடம் குவிந்துள்ள மிகுதியான நிலங்களில் ஒரு பகுதியை நிலக்கிழார்க்கு ஒதுக்கிவிட்டு, மற்ற நிலங்களை ஒன்று சேர்த்து பொது சாகுபடி செய்யும் திட்டத்திற்கு ஆதரவு தருவர்:

"நிலக்காரர்களுக்கு வேண்டியதுபோக
அதிகப்படியாக
உள்ள நிலங்களையெல்லாம் ஒன்று சேர்த்துப்
பொது
சாகுப்படி வைப்பதென்று கிளம்பியுள்ள ஒரு
திட்டத்தைக்
குள்ள புத்தியுடைய சிற்சில மக்குகள்
எதிர்க்கின்றார்கள்."[80]

9.3 ஆழ உழுதால் அத்தனையும் பொன்

வேளாண் உழவர்கள் நிலத்திலிருந்து பெரும் பயன்ஈட்ட வேண்டும் எனில், ஆழ உழவேண்டும். ஆழ உழுவதால் உயர் விளைச்சல் காணும் என்ற வேளாண் கருத்துக்களை ஏற்றப் பாட்டில் எடுத்துரைப்பர் பாவேந்தர் :

"ஆழ உழு தம்பி அத்தனையும் பொன்னாம்
அத்தனையும் பொன்னாம் புத்தம்புது
நெல்லாம்"[81]

9.4 வேளாண் வளர்ச்சி

'வானின்று நீர் சுரந்தால் மட்டும் வேளாண் சிறக்காது; அந்நீரைத் தேக்க நீர்த்தேக்கம் வேண்டும்; மதகுகள் உடைசல் இன்றி இருக்க வேண்டும். பழுது அற்ற வாய்க்கால் அமைப்பு இருத்தல் வேண்டும்; மழையில்லாக் காலத்தே நிலத்தடி நீரை எடுக்க இயந்திரப் பொறிகள் இருத்தல் வேண்டும். வேளாண் தொழில் சிறக்க உழவர்க்கு நிதி வசதிகள் உருவாக்கித் தர

வேண்டும். இத்துணையும் ஒருசேர அமைந்தால் மட்டுமே அந்நாட்டில் வேளாண் வளர்ச்சி ஏற்படும்' எனும் நோக்கில் பாவேந்தர் 'குறிஞ்சித்திட்டு' காவியத்தில் வேளாண் சிந்தனையை வழங்குவர்.

"மதகுகள் உடைசல் வாய்க்கால்
பழுதுநல் வடிகால் தூர்ப்பு
வயற்காவல் மிகஇ ழுப்பு!
மழை இல்லை பொறிகள் இல்லை!
மண்ணீரை மேலெ ழுப்ப!
உழுவர்க்குக் கடன்கொ டுக்க
ஒருகாசும் இல்லை என்றான்."[82]

இயற்கையின் சீற்றத்தால் கேடுற்ற பொழுது, வேளாண் வளர்ச்சியில் அக்கறை காட்டாத ஆட்சியாளர்களை, அந்நாளில் தமிழரசர்கள் காட்டிய கடமையுணர்வை எடுத்துக்காட்டி, கண்டிப்பர் பாவேந்தர் :

"ஏரிகள் அனைத்தும் கரை உயர்த்தப்பட்டிருந்தனவா? ஆழமண் ணெடுக்கப்பட்டிருந்தனவா?............................இந்தக் காலத்து ஆட்சியாளர்க்கு இவைபற்றிய நினைவு உண்டா? அறிவு உண்டா?

அந்தக் காலத்துத் தமிழரசர்க்குத் தமிழ்ப்புலவர்கள் ஏரியில் மண்ணெடு. கரையை உயர்த்து! வாய்க்கால் வரப்பில் மரத்தை ஊன்று! என்று சொல்லி வைப்பார்கள். நினைவுறுத்துவார்கள். தமிழரசரும் அவற்றைக் கண்ணும் கருத்துமாகக் கொண்டு செய்துவருவார்கள். அவ்வாறு புலவர்கள் சொல்லியதாலும், அரசர் செய்து வந்ததையும் இன்றைக்கும் தமிழ்பெருநூற்களிற் காணலாம்."[83]

9.5 தென் உணவு மண்டலம்

இந்திய அரசு நாட்டில் உற்பத்தியாகும் உணவுப் பொருட்களின் பகிர்மானத்தைக் கட்டுப்படுத்தியது. இதன் விளைவாகத் தமிழகத்திலும், புதுவையிலும் அரிசி கிடைப்பது அரிதாயிற்று; விலையும் கூடிற்று. இந்தச் செயல் சரியன்று. ஒவ்வொரு மானிலமும் தனி உணவு மண்டலமாக இருக்க வேண்டும் என்ற அந்நாள் ஆந்திர முதலமைச்சர் சஞ்சீவி ரெட்டியின் கருத்தை ஆதரித்து 'குயில்' இதழில் வெளியிட்டவர் பாவேந்தர் :

கேட்டல் : ஆந்திர முதலமைச்சர் சஞ்சீவி ரெட்டி சிறிது உணர்ச்சியுடைவராகக் காணப்படவில்லையா?

கிளத்தல் : தென் உணவு மண்டலத்தைக் கலைத்துவிட வேண்டும். ஆந்திரா, தமிழகம், மைசூர், கேரளம் ஆகியவை தனித்தனி மண்டலமாக்கப்பட வேண்டும். வடக்கே ஒரிசாவும், மத்தியப் பிரதேசமும் தனித்தனி மண்டலமாகப் பிரிக்கப்பட்டிருக்கையில் இங்கு மட்டும் இந்தமுடிவு? என்றெல்லாம் கூறி வடக்கன் அநீதியை, வன்மையாகக் கண்டிக்கிறார் சஞ்சீவிரெட்டி[84]

10. தொழிற் பொருளியல் (Industrial Economics)

பொருளாதாரத்தின் இரு கண்கள் வேளாண்மையும் தொழிலும் ஆகும். ஒன்று வளர்ச்சி அடைந்து மற்றொன்று வளர்ச்சி இன்றி இருக்குமென்றால் பொருளாதாரச் சீர்குலைவு தான் ஏற்படும்.

நாட்டின் பொருளாதாரத்தை உயர்த்த - நாட்டில் வருவாயைப் பெருக்க - மக்களின் வாழ்க்கைத் தரத்தை உயர்த்த தொழில் வளர்ச்சி தேவை. பாவேந்தரும் தொழிற் பொருளியல் பற்றியும், தொழிலுக்குரிய இயற்கை வளங்கள் பற்றியும் தொழில் பொருளியலின் சமனின்மை பற்றியும் தொழில் சிக்கல் பற்றியும் பரவலாகத் தம் படைப்புகளில் குறிப்பிடுவதைக் காணலாம்.

10.1 தொழிலே வாழி

உழைக்கும் தொழிலாளிகள் வர்க்கத்திற்கு உயர்வுதரும் தொழிலே வாழ்க என்று வாழ்த்துவர் பாவேந்தர் :

"தொழிலே வாழிநீ! தொழிலே வாழிநீ!
எழிலை உலகம் தழுவும் வண்ணம்
ஒழியா வளர்ச்சியில் உயரும் பல்வகைத்
தொழிலே வாழிநீ! தொழிலே வாழிநீ!"[85]

10.2 தொழிற்சாலை எங்கும் வேண்டும்

நாட்டின் தொழிற்சாலைகள் பெருகுவதன் மூலமே தொழில் வளம் காண இயலும். திருக்கோயில்கள் யாவும் தொழிற்சாலைகளாக மாற்றப் படவேண்டும் என விரும்பும் பாவேந்தர் :

"பார்த்தொழில் அனைத்தும் கொண்ட
பயன்தரு ஆலைக்கூட்டம்
ஆர்த்திடக் கேட்பதென்றோ?"[86]

என்று தம் ஏக்க உணர்வினை வெளிப்படுத்துவர்.

"தொழிற் பொருள் மிகுதி
தொழில் செயத் தகுதி
தொழிற்சாலை எங்கெங்கும் தோன்றிடச்
செய்வாய்
துயர்க்கடல் கடந்து நீ இனி துய்வாய்
தொழில் முதல் மேவும்
தோன்றும் பின் யாவும்
தொழிலறியாதவர் இருப்பது விரசம்
தொழில்தொழில் என்று சொல்லி முழக்குக
முரசம்."[87]

10.3 தொழில் துறைக்குத் தக்க நிதி வேண்டும் (Industrial Finance)

ஒரு நாட்டில் கனிவளங்கள் கணக்கின்றிக் காணப் பட்டாலும், உழைப்புச் செல்வம் மிகுதியாக இருந்தாலும், இயற்கைச் சூழல் தகுதியுடையதாக இருந்தாலும் தொழிற் துறைக்குத் தக்க நிதிவசதியில்லை எனில், அடிப்படை வசதி இல்லை எனில் தொழில் வளர்ச்சி காணுதல் அரிது.

"அல்லல்நீக் குந்தொ ழிற்கே
அடிப்படைப் பொருள் எல்லாம்
இல்லை! உண் டாக்கக் காசும்
இல்லை...
பொன்வேண்டும் தொழிற்று றைக்கே!"[88]

என்று 'குறிஞ்சித்திட்டு' காவியத்தில் தொழிலில் மேன்மைக்கு நிதிவசதி வேண்டும் என்ற பொருளியல் கருத்தினை வகுத்துத் தருவர் பாவேந்தர்.

10.4 நாட்டில் தொழில் சமனின்மையைச் சாடுதல் (Industrial Imbalance)

இந்தியத் தொழிற்துறையில் தொழில்கள் யாவும் எல்லா மாநிலங்களிலும் சமன்நிலையோடு அமைக்கப்படவில்லை; வருவாய் பெறும் உரிமை தரவில்லை என்றும் கருதுவர் பாவேந்தர். மேலும், தொழில் அறிஞர்கள் பலர் தமிழகத்தில் இருந்தாலும் அவர்களுக்குத் தொழில் தொடங்க வாய்ப்பு தரப்படுவது இல்லை எனும் நிலை உணர்ந்த பாவேந்தர் பின்வருமாறு தொழில் பொருளியல் சீரின்மையைக் கண்டிப்பர்:

"இரும்புப் பட்டறை அவர்க்காம் – நல்ல
எஃகுப் பட்டறை அவர்க்காம்
திரும்பும் பக்கம் எங்கும் கொழிக்கும்
செல்வ மெல்லாம் அவர்க்காம் நட....

சுங்கப் பொருளும் அவர்க்காம் – வண்டித்
தொடர் வருவாய் அவர்க்காம்
தங்கச் சுரங்கம் கரிச்சுரங்கம்
சுரண்டும் உரிமை அவர்க்காம் நட....

ஞாலம் புகழ் விஞ்ஞானம் – தொழில்
நாம் அறிந்தவ ரேனும் – ஒரு
காலும் தொழிலில் நாமுன் னேற
இடங்கொடுப்பது சிறிது மில்லை"[89]

10.5 இயற்கை வளம் இருந்து தொழில் புறக்கணிப்பு (Natural Resources)

தமிழ்நாட்டில் இரும்பு வளம், நிலக்கரி வளம், எண்ணெய் வளம் போன்றவை இருந்தாலும் அரசியல் சூழ் நிலைகளால் தொழில்கள் தொடங்காமல் புறக்கணிக்கப் படுகின்றன என்று பாவேந்தர் வருத்தத்துடன் கூறுவர்.

"இரும்பு இருக்கிறது தமிழ்நாட்டில்!
எண்ணெய் இருக்கிறது தமிழ்நாட்டில்!
தமிழ்நாட்டில் அவைகள் இருக்கின்றன
என்ற ஒரே காரணத்தால் தில்லியின்
புறக்கணிப்புக்கு உள்ளாகின்றன. இல்லையா?"[90]

10.6 தொழில் அமைதி

ஒரு நாட்டின் தொழிற் வளர்ச்சி, அந்நாட்டரசு பின்பற்றும் தொழிற் கொள்கையில்தான் தொழில் அமைதி

ஏற்படும். தொழில் தொடங்குவோரும் உழைப்போரும் ஏரில் பூட்டிய இருகாளைகளைப் போன்றவர்கள். உழைப்பவர்கள் மகிழ மகிழத் தொழிற்கொள்கை அமையும் எனில் அங்குக் கலகம் இல்லை; தொழில் யாவும் அரசுடைமையாக்கப் பெற வேண்டும்; அந்தத் தொழில்களின் மூலம் கிடைக்கும் மூலதனம் யாவும் அரசுக்கே ஆதல் வேண்டும்; எல்லாரும் தொழிலாளர் எல்லாரும் ஆளவந்தார் என்ற நிலை ஏற்பட்டால் பழியில்லை; பகையில்லை; காலம் இல்லை; அங்கே தொழில் அமைதி ஏற்பட்டு, பொருளாதாரம் மேம்படும் என்று பாவேந்தர் 'மக்கள் நிகர்' எனும் கவிதையில் குறிப்பிடுவர் :

"தொழிலெல்லாம் நின்றுவிட்டால்
எழிலெல்லாம் பறிகொடுக்கும் இந்தவுலகம்
தொழிலாளர் மகிழ மகிழப்
பழியில்லை பகையில்லை இல்லைகலகம்

....

....

உண்டான தொழி லெல்லாம்
கொண்டாளா ஆட்சியுமோர் ஆட்சியாகுமா?
பண்டான முதலெல்லாம்
பற்றாத ஆட்சியிலே கலகம் போகுமா?
எல்லாரும் தொழிலாளர்
எல்லாரும் ஆளவந்தார் என்றாக்குவோம்."[91]

10.7 கைத்தொழில் (Small Scale Industry)

தொழில்களை இரண்டு பெரும் பிரிவுகளில் பகுப்பர் பொருளியல் வல்லுநர்கள். (1) பெரிய தொழில்கள், (2) சிறிய தொழில்கள். 1950 ஆம் ஆண்டில் நிதிக்குழு (Fiscal Commission) 'குடிசைத் தொழில் என்பது வீட்டிலுள்ளவர்கள் எல்லோருமோ, சிலரோ, முழுநேர வேலையாகவோ பகுதிநேர வேலையாகவோ மேற்கொண்டு நடத்தப் பெறுவது சிறுதொழிலாகும்' என்று குறிப்பிட்டது.

பெரிய தொழில்கள் பல நாட்டில் இருந்தாலும், சிறிய தொழில்கள் நாட்டின் வளர்ச்சிக்குப் பக்கபலமாக இருப்பன என்று கூறலாம். காந்தியப் பொருளாதாரம் சிறுதொழில்களுக்கு இன்றியமையா இடத்தைத் தருவதாகும். பாவேந்தரும் காந்தியடிகள் போல் 'சிறுதொழில்கள் - கைத்தொழில்கள் மேல்நிலை அடைந்தால் நாட்டின் செல்வம் பெருகும்; கலைகள் மிளிரும்' என்பர்.

"எந்நாட்டினும் தென்னாட்டுக்
கைத்தறித்தொழில் – திசை
எட்டும் பரப்பியது தன்பே ரெழில் – நம்
தென்னாட்டுக் கைத்தறித் தொழில் ஓங்க – ஓங்கச்
செல்வநிலை யும்கலையும் தழைத்தோங்கும்"[92]

11. கூட்டுறவுச் சங்கம் (Co-operative Society)

இந்தியக் கூட்டுறவுச் சங்கங்கள் செர்மனியிலிருந்த சங்கங்களைப் பின்பற்றி அமைக்கப் பெற்றன. கர்சான் பிரபு (Lord Curzon), எட்வர்டு லா (Sir Edward Law) ஆகிய இருவருமே கூட்டுறவு இயக்கம் வளம்பெறக் காரணமாக இருந்தவர்கள். கூட்டுறவுச் சங்கங்கள் வலுப்பெறாத 1935ஆம் ஆண்டு அளவிலேயே கூட்டுறவு இயக்கத்தின் உயர்கருத்தினை 'ஸ்ரீசுப்ரமண்ய பாரதி கவிதா மண்டலம்' எனும் திங்கள் இதழின் மூலம் நாட்டுக்கு உணர்த்திய பெருமைக்குரியவர் பாவேந்தர். கூடித்தொழில் செய்வதால் இலாபம் அதிகம் என்றும், கேடுகள் குறைந்து, நன்மைகள் பெருகும் என்றும், பலமும் முற்போக்கு எண்ணமும் உருவாகும் என்றும், மேலைநாட்டில் கூடித்தொழில் செய்ததால் மேன்மை உற்றனர் என்றும், வறுமையால் சாவது குறையும்[93] என்றும்,

"கூடித் தொழில்செய்யாக் குற்றத்தால் இன்றுவரை
மூடிய தொழிற்சாலை முகக்கோடி!
தோழர்களே"[94]

என்றும்

"நாயினும் கடையாய் நலிவது மேலா?
நல்ல கூட்டுத்தொழில்கள் நாட்டிடல் மேலா?"[95]

என்றும் கூட்டுறவினால் ஏற்படும் நன்மையை - உலகுக்கு எடுத்துக்காட்டியவர் பாவேந்தர்.

12. உழைப்பு (Labour)

நிலமும் உழைப்பும் மூலதனமும் பொருட்படைப்பின் மூன்று கருவிகள் எனப் பொருளியல் வல்லுநர்கள் கூறுவர். உழைப்பு மனித முயற்சி ஆகும். இவ்வுழைப்பு உடல் உழைப்பாகவும், மூளை உழைப்பாகவும் இருக்கலாம். பொருளியலில் பணத்திற்காக மேற்கொள்ளப்படும் மனித முயற்சியே உழைப்பு என்று கூறப்படும்.

மதிப்பை உருவாக்குவது உழைப்பு; மேலும், ஒரு பொருளுக்கு உழைப்புதான் மதிப்பை உருவாக்குகிறது என்பர் கார்ல் மார்க்ஸ்.

உழைப்பைப் பற்றியும் உழைப்பைத் தருகின்ற தொழிலாளர்களைப் பற்றியும் உழைப்பைச் சுரண்டும் முதலாளி களைப் பற்றியும், பாவேந்தர் தம்முடைய இலக்கியங்களில் அதிகமாகக் குறிப்பிடுவர்.

12.1 உழைத்தல் அனைவரின் கடன்

இவ்வுலகில் மனிதகுலம் தழைக்க வேண்டுமெனில், மனித வாழ்வு மேன்மையுற வேண்டுமெனில், மனிதன் நல்வாழ்வு பெற வேண்டுமெனில் உழைத்தல் வேண்டும். உலகில் உள்ள எல்லோரும் உழைப்பது அவர்தம் கடமை என்று குறிப்பிடுவர்

"........................ உழைத்தல்
எல்லார்க்கும் கடனென்று
கொட்டு முரசே!"[96]

12.2 உழைக்காதவர் வஞ்சகர்

கார்ல் மார்க்ஸ் கூறும் மதிப்புக் கொள்கை, கூலிக் கொள்கை ஆகிய இரண்டின் அடிப்படையில் உழைப்பு அற்றவர்கள் மதிப்பு இல்லாதவர் ஆவார். பாவேந்தர் உழைக்காதவர்களை வஞ்சகர் என்று கூறுவர்; சிலர் வாழ்ந்திட பலர் உழைக்கும் நிலைகாட்டிலும் உலகமே அழிதல் சால்புடையது என்பர்.

"உழைக்காத வஞ்சகர் தம்மை – மிக
உயர்வான சாதுக்கள் என்பது நன்றோ?"[97]

"சிற்சிலர் வாழ்ந்திடப் பற்பலர் உழைத்துத்
தீர்களனும் இந்த லோகமே – உரு
அற்றொழிந் தாலும்நன் றாகுமே!"[98]

12.3 உழைப்பு தருவோன் நிலை

நாட்டின் செல்வம் பெருகி வளர உற்ற துணையாக விளங்குவது உழைப்பாளரின் உழைப்பாகும். உழைப்பு தரும் உழைப்பாளி உண்ண உணவின்றி உடுக்க உடையின்றி - உறைய உறைவிடமின்றி வாடும் வறிய நிலை நாட்டில் இன்றும் நிலைபெற்று இருப்பது கண்கூடு. பாவேந்தர் ஏழைக்குடியானவன் உழைப்பை, ஏழ்மை நிலையைப் படம்பிடித்துக் காட்டுவர் :

*"ஏலாது படுக்கும் எண்சாண் உடம்பை
நாலுசாண் அகன்ற ஓலைக் குடிசையில்
முழங்கால் மூட்டு முகம்வரச் சுருட்டி
வழங்கு தமிழரசு வளைத்த வில்லெனக்
'கிடப்பவன்' பகலெல்லாம் கடுக்க 'உழைப்பவன்'
குடியானவன் எனக் கூறு கின்றனர்
முடிபுனை அரசரும் மிடிஇலாச் செல்வரும்!"*[99]

12.4 உழைப்பவர் உழைப்பில் உதித்தவை இயந்திரப் பொறிகள்

தொழில்களுக்குரிய இயந்திரப் பொறிகள் பல அறிவியல் அறிஞர்கள் கண்டுபிடித்தனர். தொழிலின் வளர்ச்சிக்கும் மக்களின் பயன்பாட்டிற்கும் தேவையான இயந்திரப் பொறிகள் உழைப்பாளர்களின் வியர்வையில் உதித்தவை என்று பாவேந்தர் குறிப்பிடுவர் :

*"ஆர்த்திடும் யந்திரக் கூட்டங்களே! – உங்கள்
ஆதிஅந்தம் சொல்லவோ? – நீங்கள்
ஊர்த்தொழிலாளர் உழைத்த உழைப்பில்
உதித்தது மெய் அல்லவோ?"*[100]

புவியில் தோன்றிய அனைத்துப் பொருள்களும் தொழிலாளர்களின் உழைப்பில் தோன்றியவையாகும்.

*"நீர்கனல் நல்ல நிலம்வெளி காற்றென
நின்ற இயற்கைகளே! உம்மைப்
பாரும் புவிப்பொருள் தந்ததெவை? தொழி
லாளர் தடக்கைகளே!"*[101]

12.5 புரட்சி செய்வர் தொழிலாளர்கள்

கார்ல் மார்க்ஸும் - பிரடரிக் ஏங்கல்ஸும் எடுத்துரைக்கும் பாட்டாளி மக்களின் - தொழிலாளர்களின் வர்க்க நலன்களை ஏற்றுக்கொண்டவர் பாவேந்தர். செல்வர்களுக்கு எதிராகக் கிளர்ந்து எழவேண்டும் என்பதே இவர்தம் உழைப்பவர் கொள்கையாகும்.

*"எலிகள் புசிக்க எலாம் கொடுத்தே சிங்க
ஏறுகள் ஏங்கிடுமோ? – இனிப்
புலிகள் நரிக்குப் புசிப்பளித்தே பெரும்
கிளியை விடுத்துக் கிளர்ந்தெழுவார் இனிக்
கெஞ்சும்உத் தேசமில்லை – சொந்த*

வலிவுடையார் இன்பவாழ்வுடையார் இந்த
வார்த்தைக்கு மோசமில்லை."[102]

13 வாணிபத்தில் நாணயம்

வாணிபத்தை அரசினரே ஏற்று நடத்தும்போதுதான் வாணிபத்தில் நாணயம் ஏற்படும் என்று உறுதியாக நம்புவர் பாவேந்தர் :

கேட்டல் : வாணிபத்தில் நாணயம் எப்போது?

கிளத்தல் : தனியாரிடத்தினின்று வாணிகம் முற்றும் பறிக்கப்பட்டு, அரசினரால் நடத்தப்படும் போது.[103]

13.1 வணிகர்க்குத் தண்டனை கொடு

'வாணிபத்தில் முறையற்றதன்மையும், பொருட்களைப் பதுக்கியும், விலையேற்றியும் விற்கும் வாணிகர்களை நேரடியாக அரசினர் தலையிட்டு, தண்டனை கொடுக்க வேண்டும்' என்று பாவேந்தர் 'குயில்' கிழமை இதழில், கேட்டலும் கிளத்தலும் எனும் பகுதியில் குறிப்பிடுவர் :

கேட்டல் : உணவுப் பொருள் விலையைக் குறைக்க அரசினர் உடனடியாகத் தலையிட வேண்டும் என்று அனைத்துக் கட்சிகளும் ஒன்று சேர்ந்து செய்யும் கிளர்ச்சி பற்றி என்ன நினைக்கிறீர்கள்?

கிளத்தல் : தனியாரிடத்தில் விட்டு வைத்துள்ள வாணிகம் மீட்கப்பட வேண்டும். அதற்கான முயற்சி, அனைத்துக் கட்சியின் கிளர்ச்சி யன்று. நேரடி நடவடிக்கை!.

விலை ஏறட்டும் என்று சரக்கை பதுக்கிவைப்பவன் கடை அனைத்துக் கட்சியின் ஆராய்ச்சிக் குட்பட வேண்டும்.

'கொண்டபடி பேணும் விலை பேசி, லாபஞ்சிறிது
கூடிவர நயமுரைப் பார்'
– குமரேச சதகம்

என்றதற்கு மாறாக வாணிகர் நடந்து கொள்ளும்போது – அதாவது மிகப் பெருவிலை பெற்றுப் பொருளை விற்கும் போது அனைத்துக் கட்சி நேரே அந்த வாணிகருக்கு தண்டனை கொடுக்க வேண்டும்.[104]

14. பகிர்வு (Distribution)

பகிர்வு என்ற சொல்லுக்கு உற்பத்திக் காரணிகளின் ஊதியம் நிர்ணயிக்கப்படும் தன்மையும், தேசிய வருமானம் மக்களிடையே பகிரப்படும் தன்மையும் ஏற்றத் தாழ்வுகளின் தன்மையும் என விளக்குவர் பொருளியல் அறிஞர்கள். பாவேந்தர் பகிர்வு பற்றி விளக்கம் தருவர். உருசிய நாட்டின் பொருளா தாரத்தில் 'பகிர்வு' (Distribution) எவ்வகையில் உள்ளதோ, அம்முறையே இந்திய நாட்டிற்கும் ஏற்புடையது எனும் கருத்தில் பொருளியல் கருத்தினைத் தருவர் பாவேந்தர் :

"உருசிய நாட்டின் உடைமையைக் கடமையை
மக்கள் தொகையால் வகுத்தே, வகுத்ததை
கடலில் வைத்தே உயிரினால் காக்கும் உருசிய..."[105]

15 கூலி (Wages)

கூலி என்பது உழைப்புக்குத் தரும் ஊதியமாகும். இவ்வூதியம் நாட்கூலியாகவோ, வாரக் கூலியாகவோ, மாதக் கூலியாகவோ கொடுக்கப்படுகிறது. தொழிலாளர்களுக்குக் கொடுக்கப்படும் கூலி நிறைவானதாக - அவர்களின் வாழ்க்கைத் தரத்திற்கு ஏற்புடையதாக இருக்க வேண்டும் என்று தொழிலாளர்களின் பிரச்சனைப் பற்றியும் 'கூலி'யைப் பற்றியும் பாவேந்தர் கூறுவர் :

"ஏற்றடா கூலி என்று
மன்னவர் இயம்பும் ஓர்சொல்
சோற்றுக்கு வழியும் செய்யும்
சோர்வினைப் போக்கும்..."[106]

"பஞ்சைநூ லாக்கும் ஆலைப்
பழந்தொழி லாளர் எல்லாம்
கெஞ்சினர்; கூலி ஏறக்
கேட்டனர்; முதலா ளர்கள்
மிஞ்சினர்; ஒப்போம் என்றார்.
வேலைநிறுத்தம் செய்து
கஞ்சிக்கு வழி செய்க..."[107]

என்று கூறும் பாவேந்தர், உழைப்புக்கேற்ற ஊதியம் கிடைக்க வில்லை என்றால், வேலைநிறுத்தம் செய்தாகிலும் நியாயமான கூலி பெறுதல் வேண்டும் என்பர்.

மேலும், வேலையின் தொழிலில் நியாயமற்ற கூலி வழங்குவதும், உடல் உழைப்பு அற்றவர்கள் தொழிலாளர்களின்

கூலியை இலாபநோக்கில் பெறுவதும் சரியான செயல் அன்று என்று குறிப்பிடுவர் பாவேந்தர் :

> **"நடவுசெய்த தோழர்கூலி காலணாவை ஏற்பதும்,**
> **உடலுழைப்பி லாதசெல்வர் உலகைஆண் டுலாவலும்,**
> **கடவுளாணை என்றுரைத்த கயவர் கூட்டமீதிலே**
> **கடவுள்என்ற கட்டறுத்துத் தொழிலாளரை ஏவுவோம்."[108]**

16. பொருளாதாரத் திட்டம் (Economic Planning)

நமது காலச் சிக்கலுக்கு ஏற்ற தீர்வு பொருளாதாரத் திட்டமே என்றும், ஒரு நோக்கத்தோடு செயல்படுவதும், தேர்ந்து செயல்படுவதும் திட்டமாகும்' என்றும் இராபின்சன் (Robinson) எனும் பொருளியல் அறிஞர் கூறுவர். எந்த ஒரு நாட்டின் பொருளாதார வளர்ச்சியும், அந்நாட்டரசினர் திட்டமிடும் செயல்களாலும், விரைந்து செயல்படும் ஆற்றலாலும், ஆக்கப் பணிகள் மேற்கொள்வதிலும்தான் அடங்கி இருக்கின்றது.

16.1 திட்டமிட்ட பொருளியல் சிறந்தது

வேளாண் திட்டமாக - தொழில்துறைத் திட்டமாக - நலத்திட்டமாக - எது இருந்தாலும் திட்டமிட்டு செயல்படுவதால் பொருளாதாரம் திட்டமிட்டு இலக்கை அடையும். திட்ட மில்லாத தொழில் அமைப்பு அல்லது திட்டமில்லாத வேளாண் அமைப்பு மூலம் நாட்டின் வருவாய்தான் வீணாகும் மக்களின் வரிப்பணம்தான் வீணாகும். திட்டமில்லாமல், தொழில் தொடங்கப்பெற்று, குறிப்பிட்ட காலத்தில் உற்பத்தி உருவாக வில்லை என்றால், அதனால் இந்திய நாட்டின் பொருளாதாரம் வளர்ச்சியில் குன்றும் என்று 'குயில்' கிழமை இதழில் சுட்டிக் காட்டுவர் பாவேந்தர் :

கேட்டல்: **கல்கத்தா அருகில் ஒரு வெள்ளியை மற்றக் கட்டிகளி னின்று பிரிந்தெடுக்கும் தொழிலை நாலேகால் கோடிச் செலவில் ஏற்படுத்தினார்களாம். அது வேலை செய்யாமல் அப்படியே இருக்கிறதாமே. எப்போது வேலை செய்யத் தொடங்கும்?**

கிளத்தல்: **வேலை செய்வதற்கா தொழிற் சாலை ஏற்படுத்தினார் கள். இல்ல வேயில்லை. தெரிந்தவர்கள் கொள்ளை யடிக்கத்தானே![109]**

17. பொது நிதி (Public Finance)

அரசாங்கத்தின் வரவு செலவு பற்றி ஆராய்வது பொது நிதி ஆகும். அரசாங்க வருவாய், அரசாங்கச் செலவு, அரசாங்கக்

கடன், நிதி நிர்வாகம், பொதுக் கணக்கு, வரவு - செலவு ஆகிய பிரிவுகள் இதில் அடங்கும்.

சமூகத்திற்கு உச்ச அளவு நன்மை கிடைக்க வேண்டும் என்பதே 'பொது நிதி'யின் கோட்பாடு ஆகும்.

இந்தக் கோட்பாட்டின்படி, ஒரு நாட்டிற்குப் பொதுநிதி கிடைக்க வேண்டும். தேவையான அளவு பொது நிதி கிடைக்க வில்லை என்றால் அந்நாட்டின் ஏழ்மையைப் போக்க முடியாது. வறுமையை ஒழிக்க முடியாது. வேளாண்மை வளர்ச்சி பெறாது. தொழில் வளம் பெருகாது. பாவேந்தர் பொது நிதியைப் பற்றி 'குறிஞ்சித் திட்டு' காவியத்தில் பின் வருமாறு குறிப்பிடுவது நினைக்கத்தக்கது.

"பொதுநிதி எங்கே? நாட்டைப்
பொசிக்கிடும் பசியைப் போக்க
அதுவன்றோ தேவை? இன்றேல்
அழிவன்றோ தாய்நாட் டிற்கே"[110]

17.1 வரிகள்

ஒரு நாட்டின் ஆட்சியானது நேர்முகமாகவோ மறை முகமாகவோ வரிகளைத் திரட்டுகிறது. மக்களிடமிருந்து பெறும் வரிகள் நேர்மையுடையதாக இருக்க வேண்டும்; ஏழைகளைக் கசக்கிப் பிழிந்து பெறும் வரியாக இருக்கக்கூடாது என்பதை வலியுறுத்தும் வகையில் பாவேந்தர் கூறுவர் :

கேசவன் : நானும் தண்டலதிபரும் இந்தக் குடியானவனிடம் போய் வரி கேட்டோம். என்னை அடித்த தோடு, இந்த ஆஸ்ரமியும், குடியானவனும் தங்களையும் தங்கள் ஆட்சியையும் குறை கூறினார்கள்."[111]

17.2 கடன் (Loan)

நாட்டின் வளர்ச்சித் திட்டங்கள் நிறைவேற்ற ஓர் ஆட்சி மற்றொரு ஆட்சியிடம் கடன் பெறுகிறது. ஒரு நாடு மற்றொரு நாட்டிடம் கடன் வாங்குகிறது. உள்நாட்டில் பெறுகின்ற கடனைக் காட்டிலும், அயல்நாடுகளில் பெறுகின்ற கடன் நாட்டிற்கு - ஆட்சிக்குப் பெருஞ்சுமையுடையதாகும். கடன் சுமை மக்களின் வாழ்வியலைப் பாதிக்கும் என்பதைப் பாவேந்தர் எடுத்துரைப்பர் :

"உள்ளம் கடன் வாங் குகையில் உவப்புறும்
கொடுத்தவன் வட்டியொடு கேட்கையில் கொலைபடும்

ஆதலின் அருமைத் தமிழரே கேட்பீர்
கடன்படும் நிலைகளுக்கு உடன்பட வேண்டாம்."[112]

17.3 பிறநாட்டுக்கடன் பிற்போக்குடையது

வெளிநாட்டிடமிருந்து கடன் பெறும் பொருளியல் கோட்பாடு பிற்போக்குச் செயலே என்பர் பாவேந்தர். இதனால், நாட்டின் சுதந்திரத்திற்குக் கேடு வரும். வெளிநாட்டிலிருந்து கடன் பெறும் நிலைமை இருக்கக்கூடாது. இதுவே நாட்டின் வளத்திற்கு வழிகாட்டும் செயலாகும்.

"பிறநாட்டை எதிர்பார்க் கின்ற
பிற்போக்கு நிலைமை இல்லை"[113]

என்று குறிஞ்சி நாட்டின் பொதுநிதியின் ஆதாரத்தை 'குறிஞ்சித் திட்டில்' குறிப்பிடுவர் பாவேந்தர்.

17.4 பொதுநிதியில் நேர்மையான பங்கு

இந்திய அரசு அரசியல் நிர்ணயச் சட்டங்களின் அடிப் படையில் மக்களிடம் இருந்து வரி பெறுகிறது. இந்தப் பொது நிதியைப் பணம் உறை நிலையம் (Bank), ஆயுட் பதிவு (LIC), புகை வண்டி (Railways), அஞ்சல் நிலையம் (Postal), வாணிக ஒற்றுமை நிலையம் (Commerce) போன்றவைகளின் மூலம் இந்திய அரசு பெறுகிறது என்றும், ஆனால், இவற்றின் மூலம் கிடைக்கும் பொதுநிதியில் தமிழ்நாட்டிற்குரிய பங்கை இந்திய நடுவண் அரசு பகிர்ந்து கொடுக்க மறுக்கிறது என்றும் எடுத்துக் காட்டுவர் :

"தமிழ்நாடு தில்லியின் தனிஅடி நாடா?
வரியின் வாயிலாக அறுபது கோடியை
அள்ளிக் கொண்டபோது 'ஆறு கோடியை
இந்தா என்றே இங்கே கொடுக்கும்!

....

....

அயல்நா டுகளை அரித்து வாங்கும்
கடன்தொகை தனில்விழுக் காடுபார்த்துத்
தமிழ்நாட் டுக்குத் தருதல் வேண்டுமே!
அதையும் தில்லி அழுத்திக் கொண்டது!

பலதுறை களிலும் பதினோ ராண்டாய்
ஏமாற் றியபணம் எண்ணூறு கோடி
இதனால் தமிழரின் உழைப்பும் இழப்பும்
வளர்ந்ததால் இங்கு வறுமை வளர்ந்தது"[114]

17.5 பொதுநிதி சுரண்டல்

மக்களிடமிருந்து பெற்ற வரிப்பணம் மக்கள் நன்மைக்கே சென்றடைதலே முறையாகும். அரசுத் துறைகளுக்கு வாங்கப் படும் பொருள்கள் அவர்தம் வீட்டிற்குப் போகுதல் பொதுநிதி சுரண்டலே ஆகும்.

> **"துறைதோறும் வைத்தபொருள் அத்துறையோர் வீட்டின்**
> **அறைதோறும் ஆட்டமாகும்; கேள்வி-முறையுண்டா?**
> **பெட்டிப் பணமெல்லாம் கோவிந்தா கோவிந்தா**
> **சுட்டுக் கணக்க ரகரா"[115]**

17.6 செலவு

நாடாக இருந்தாலும் சரி, தனி மனிதனாக இருந்தாலும் சரி வருவாய்க்கு ஏற்பவே; செலவு செய்தல் வேண்டும். வீண் செலவு எத்துறையில் இருந்தாலும், அதனால் கடன் வாங்கச் சொல்லும்; வரவும் செலவும் சமநிலை இருப்பின் துன்பம் இல்லை. வாட்டம் இல்லை.

> **"கடன்பட்டுக் கடன்பட்டுக் கெட்டவர் தொகையே**
> **கணக்கிட முடியுமோ அப்பெரும் பகையை**
> **வரவுக்குத் தக்கபடி செலவிடல் வேண்டும்**
> **வட்டிக்கு வாங்குவது தொலைந்திட வேண்டும்**
> **சிரமத்தை விளைவிக்கும் டாம்பிகம் தூண்டும்**
> **செலவை நிறுத்தலும் வேண்டும்."[116]**

மேலும், வேளாண் தொழிலுக்கு, தொழில் துறைக்கு, கல்விப் பணிகளுக்கு, மருத்துவப் பணிகளுக்கு- நலப் பணிகளுக்குப் போதிய பொதுப் பணம் இல்லாமல் இருக்கையில் உருவ வழிபாட்டிற்கும், மதங்களுக்கும் அயல்நாட்டவர்களுக்கும் செலவு செய்தல் வீணே என்பர் பாவேந்தர் :

> **"அரசியலில் எத்துறையும் பணமின்றி அழிகையிலே**
> **கோவிலுக்கு**
> **உருவவழி பாட்டுக்கும் மதங்கட்கும் அயலார்க்கும்**
> **உள்ள பொன்னை**
> **வரவெண்ணிப் பாராமல் செலவிட்ட மனப்பான்மை**
> **கொடிதே அன்றோ"[117]**

18. பொருளாதார மேம்பாட்டிற்குக் கல்வி

முற்காலத்தில் தமிழ் மக்கள் கல்வி கேள்வியில் தலை சிறந்து விளங்கினர். ஒளியுலகில் நல்வாழ்வு நடத்தி இன்புற்று

இருந்தனர். பிற்காலத்தில் உயர்ந்தவர் - தாழ்ந்தவர் எனும் கோட்பாட்டால் மக்கள் படிப்பை இழந்தனர். இருட்டில் உழன்றனர். கல்வியின் பயனையே மறந்தனர்; தெய்வ நிலையும் இழந்தனர். இருபதாம் நூற்றாண்டின் தொடக்கக் காலத்தில் தமிழ் மக்கள் கல்வியின் பயனை மீண்டும் உணர்ந்தனர்.

உணர்ந்த மக்களுக்கு - கல்வியைக் கற்கவேண்டும் என்று உணர்ந்த மக்களுக்குக் கல்விக் கழகத்தில் போதிய இடமின்மையை எடுத்துக்காட்டுவர் பாவேந்தர். ஐந்தாண்டுத் திட்டத்தினால் - ஆயிரங்கோடி செலவு செய்வதால் மக்களுக்குப் பயன் இல்லை.

> "ஆளவந்தார்கள் ஐந்தாண்டுத் திட்டம் போடுகிறார்கள். ஆயிரம்கோடி செலவிடப் போகிறோம் என்று காரில் திரிவதன் வாயிலாகவே அத்தொகையைச் செலவிட்டு வருகிறார்கள்.
>
> வானக்கூரையைச் சிறிது தாழ்த்தப் போகிறார்களாம். வையத்தைச் சிறிது உயர்த்தப் போகின்றார்கள். கடலைப் பெரிதாக்கப் போகின்றார்களாம். மலையைக் குள்ள - மாக்கப் போகின்றார்களாம். பயனுள்ள வேலையாக இருக்கலாம். படிப்போர்க்கு வகுப்புகள் நிறைய ஏற்பாடு செய்ய வேண்டுமா? இல்லையா? இன்றியமையாத வேலை எது? இன்று கோடிக் கணக்காக உள்ள தமிழ் மாணவர்களின் நிலை என்ன? கண்ணீரும் கம்பலையுமாகத் திரிகின்றார்களே வகுப்பு தரும்படி. அவர்கட்கு வசதி செய்து தரும் வேலை அரசினர்க்கும் ஆளவந்தார்க்கும் முதல் வேலை"[118]

நாட்டின் வறுமை, ஏழ்மை, அறியாமை ஆகிய பிணிகள் இல்லாமல் இருக்க வேண்டும் என்றால் அங்குக் கல்வியில் மேம்பாடு பெற்றிருக்க வேண்டும்.

> "இல்லாமை என்னும் பிணி
> இல்லாமல் கல்வி நலம்
> எல்லார்க்கும் என்று சொல்லிக்
> கொட்டு முரசே வாழ்வில்
> பொல்லாங்கு தீர்ந்ததென்று
> கொட்டு முரசே"[119]

19. மதுவிலக்கு (Prohibition)

காந்தியப் பொருளாதாரக் கோட்பாடு மதுவையும் போதைப் பொருட்களையும் மக்கள் பயன்படுத்துவதைக் கண்டிக்கும். காந்தியத்தில் ஈடுபாடு கொண்ட பாவேந்தர்,

மதுவினால் ஏற்படும் தீமைகளை 1922 ஆம் ஆண்டில் நடத்திய 'தேசசேவகன்' எனும் இதழில் குறிப்பிடுவர் :

"மதுவிலக்கு மதுவிலக்கு மனைவி மக்கள் வாழியே!
மதிகலக்கும் மதுவைவிட்டு மகிழ்வுபெற்று வாழ்குவாய்!
நிதியனைத்தும் வீணிலாக்கும் நிலைமைகண்டு நீக்குவாய்!
நிதமிழுத்து நலியவைக்கும் நேசர்கையி லேங்குவாய்!
சதியனைத்தும் காசுதந்து சம்மதித்து வாங்கவோ?
சதையனைத்தும் நையவைத்து நிதமலைப்பொன் தேடுவாய்
மதுவிலக்கு மதிதுலக்கு மனிதவாழ்வில் மேன்மைகொள்
மகிதலத்தில் உனதுநாட்டை வடுவகற்ற நோன்புகொள்.

அறிவுனக்கு மணிவிளக்கம் அதைவிருத்தி செய்குவாய்!
அறமிதென்றும் மறமிதென்றும் அறியவேண்டு மல்லவோ?
நிறை குளத்தைப் பாசிமூடி நிலைகெடுக்கும் வாறுபோல்
நின்மனத்தில் தெளிபவிக்கும் நீசமதுவை நீக்குவாய்!

பொறுமைகொண்டு புகழடைந்து பொன்மிகுந்து தமிழிலே
புலமைகொண்டு வாழ்வதென்ற புதுநினைவு கொள்ளுவாய்
திறமிழந்து செயலிழந்து தெருவிலெங்கும் வெளியனாய்த்
திரியவைக்கும் குடியைவிட்டுத் தேசசேவை செய்குவாய்.[120]

20. மக்கட்தொகை (Population)

தொன்மைப் பொருளியலறிஞர்களில் ஒருவர் தாமஸ் ராபர்ட் மால்தஸ் (Thomas Robert Malthus), மக்கள் தொகைக் கோட்பாட்டின் மூலம் உலகப் புகழ்பெற்றவர் இவர்.

மக்கள்தொகைப் பெருக்கம் பற்றி மால்தஸ் தெரிவித்த சிந்தனைகள் 'மால்தசின் மக்கள் தொகை கோட்பாடு' (The Malthusian Theory of Population) என்ற பெயரில் வழங்கப் பெறுகிறது. மக்கள் தொகைக்கும் உணவு பங்கீடுக்கும் உள்ள தொடர்பினை எடுத்துரைக்கும் நூலாக இது விளங்குகிறது.

மக்கள் தொகைப் பெருக்கம் மூவகைத் தடைகளால் குறைகிறது என்பர் மால்தஸ். (1) துன்பம், (2) தீச்செயல்கள், (3) ஒழுக்கக் கட்டுப்பாடுகள். இயற்கையின் விளைவாக ஏற்படும் வறட்சி, பஞ்சம், பிணி, காலரா போன்ற துன்பத் தடைகள், போர், கொலை போன்ற தீச்செயல்கள் தடைகள் போன்றவைகள் சமுதாயத்திலிருந்து நீக்க வேண்டும் என்று மால்தஸ் கூறுவது போன்று பாவேந்தரும் கருதுவர். கருத்தடை போன்ற ஒழுக்கக் கட்டுப்பாடுகளை மால்தஸ் வரவேற்பர். பாவேந்தர் 1938ஆம் ஆண்டு அளவிலே இந்நாட்டின் மக்கள் தொகை குறைய

வேண்டும் என்று விரும்பியவர். இந்நாட்டின் பொருளாதாரம் செம்மை நிலை எய்தவும், மக்கள் வறுமையிலிருந்து விடுபடவும், அளவான குடும்பத் தத்துவத்தைக் 'கர்ப்பத் தடை' என்னும் கவிதை மூலம் உலகுக்குத் தெரிவித்தவர் பாவேந்தர்.

"காதலுக்கு வழிவைத்துக் கருப்பாதை சாத்தக்
கதவொன்று கண்டறிவோம். இதிலென்ன குற்றம்?
சாதலுக்கோ பிள்ளை? தவிர்ப்பதற்கோ பிள்ளை?
சந்தான முறைநன்று; தவிர்க்கு முறை தீதோ?"[121]

20.1 மக்கள்தொகை பெருத்தால் ஒழுக்கக்கேடு மிகும்

மக்கள் தொகை பெருகுவதால், உணவுப் பஞ்சம் ஏற்படுகிறது. நோய்கள் பல தோன்றுகின்றன. ஆண் - பெண் இருபாலர்களிடையே ஒழுக்கக் கேடுகள் பெருகுகின்றன. இதனையே,

"மக்கள் தொகை பெருத்தால் வரும்பஞ்சம் – இங்கு
வரும் பஞ்சத்தால் ஒழுக்கக் கேடே மிஞ்சும்"[122]

என்று பாவேந்தர் மக்கட்தொகை கட்டுப்படுத்த வேண்டியதன் தேவையை வலியுறுத்துவர். மேலும், கருத்தடைகள் ஆண் - பெண் இருபாலரும் மேற்கொள்வதால், மக்கட் செல்வம் தோன்றுவதில்லை. அவ்வாறு தோன்றாத மக்கள் தந்த நலமே, தோன்றியுள்ள மக்கள் நுகரும் நலமாகும் என்று இப்பொருளியல் கருத்தினைக் 'கருத்தடை மருத்துவமனையில் ஒருத்தியின் வேண்டுகோள்' எனும் கவிதை வழி வெளிப்படுத்துவர் பாவேந்தர்.

"தோன்றியுள்ள மக்கள் நலம் யாவும் – இங்குத்
தோன்றாத மக்கள் தந்த தாகும்!
தோன்றாமை இன்பம் என்று சொன்னார் – மிகத்
துயரான புத்தர் யாவும்!"[123]

என்று 'கருத்தடை' இந்திய நாட்டுப் பொருளியல் வளர்ச்சிக்கு மிகவும் தேவையான ஒன்றாகக் கருதுவர் பாவேந்தர்.

21. வள்ளுவர் உரையில் பொருளியல் அறக்கருத்து

பாவேந்தர் திருக்குறளுக்குக் 'குயில்' இதழில் உரை எழுதினார். வள்ளுவரின் பொருளியல் சிந்தனைகள் பலவற்றை ஏற்பர்.

"பழியஞ்சிப் பாத்தூ ணுடைத்தாயின் வாழ்க்கை
வழியெஞ்சல் எஞ்ஞான்றும் இல்"[124]

என்ற குறட்பாவிற்கு எழுதும் உரையில், பொதுநல நோக்கில் பின்வருமாறு தெரிவிப்பர்.

> "நல்வழியில் செல்வம் சேர்க்க வேண்டும்.
> அதையும் தனக்குள்ளது கழித்து
> மற்றதைப் பொதுநலத்துக்குப்
> பகிர்ந்து உதவ வேண்டும்...
> அறவழியில் பொருள் தேடவேண்டும்.
> தன் குடும்பத்துக் கானதைவிட மிஞ்சிய
> செல்வத்தை அரசுக்கும் அறநிலையங்
> கட்கும் ஆம் வகையில் பிரித்துக்
> கொடுத்துவிட வேண்டும். தான் பெற்ற
> செல்வம் தன்நாட்டுக்கே ஆம்படி
> செய்யாது ஒழிந்தால் பழியே
> ஏற்படும்."[125]

முடிவுரை

பாவேந்தர் பாரதிதாசன் பொருளாதாரக் கல்வியை முறையாகப் பயின்றவர் இல்லை. இவர் ஒரு கவிஞர்; நாடக வேந்தர்; கட்டுரையாளர்; இதழ்வேந்தர்; கல்வியாளர். இவர் பிரெஞ்சிந்தியப் பகுதியான புதுவையில் தோன்றியவர்; பிரெஞ்சிந்தியப் புதுவையில் கருத்துச் சுதந்திரத்தைக் கண்டவர்; பத்திரிகைச் சுதந்திரத்தைச் சுவாசித்தவர். எனவேதான், பாவேந்தர் பாடல்களில் பொருளாதாரக் கருத்துகள் - கொள்கைகள் மிகுதியாகக் காணப்பட்டாலும் சிட்டுக்குருவி வானத்தை அளந்தாற்போல இக்கட்டுரையில் சிறிய அளவிலே இவர்தம் பொருளியல் கருத்துகள் - சிந்தனைகள் கண்டறியப்பட்டன.

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